

THE GREEK LANGUAGE

by

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second edition
revised

LONDON
FABER & FABER LIMITED
24 RUSSELL SQUARE

FIRST PUBLISHED IN MCMXXXI
BY FABER & FABER LIMITED
24 RUSSELL SQUARE LONDON W.C.1
SECOND EDITION OCTOBER MCMXXXIII
REPRINTED MCMLII
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
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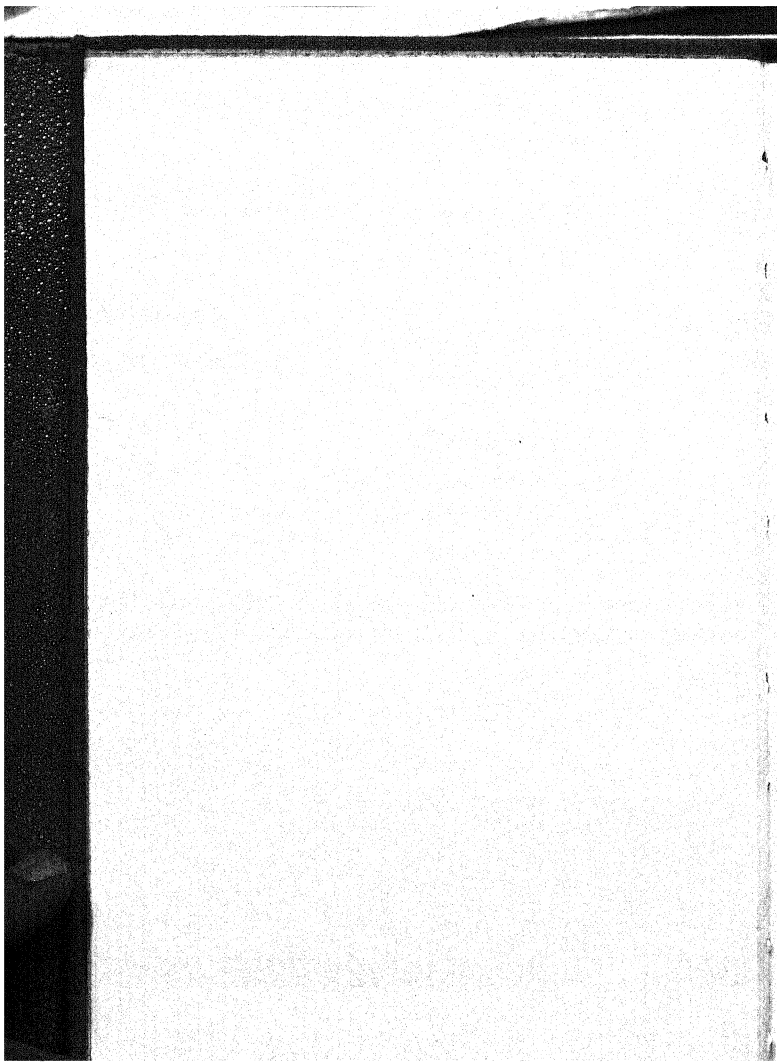
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Contents

FOREWORD	<i>page</i> vii
CHAP. I. ORIGINS	i
II. PHONETICS. ACCENT	27
III. NOUNS AND PRONOUNS	64
IV. VERBS AND ADVERBS	86
V. SYNTAX. NOUNS	103
VI. SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES	135
VII. DIALECTS	165
VIII. HOMER AND THE EARLY LITERATURE	198
IX. THE GOLDEN AGE	224
X. GREEK AS A WORLD LANGUAGE. THE NEW TESTAMENT	264
XI. GREEK AT THE PRESENT DAY	307
APPENDIX. THE GREEK ALPHABET	335
BIBLIOGRAPHY	340
INDEX	347



Foreword

THIS book makes no claim to originality. So much has been written upon the Greek language and literature that, except perhaps at special points and in technical matters, the whole field has been many times covered. But perhaps there has never been attempted in English a summary history of the whole language from its origins to the present day. This book endeavours to fill such a gap, and in writing I have tried to keep the non-specialist in view. The difficulty of combining the linguistic approach with a brief account of the literary language has been the tendency of the linguistic chapters to become too technical and those upon literature too elementary. Yet there must be many in the early stages of a classical course to whom an introduction to some of the linguistic problems would be useful; and there is likely to be an increasing number of persons interested in language, especially in a language that has taken the place in the world that Greek has taken. There may even be some professional linguists who have not had the opportunity of reading the Greek literature. I have therefore had in view those who have not made the ancient classics their principal study, and I hope the book may be regarded as in the nature of an introduction of the educated but non-specialist public to one of the greatest and most influential of the languages of the world.

Exigencies of space have demanded certain omissions and contractions. Among these must be classed the very brief treatment of the particles, and in the second part of the book the passing over of the Homeric Hymns, such writers as Plutarch, Lucian and Marcus Aurelius, and the Neo-Platonists. Such omissions may perhaps be more readily excused, when it is remembered that this part is not intended to be a history of Greek literature, which I should not be competent to undertake, but to trace the development of the language as it is illustrated by the literary remains.

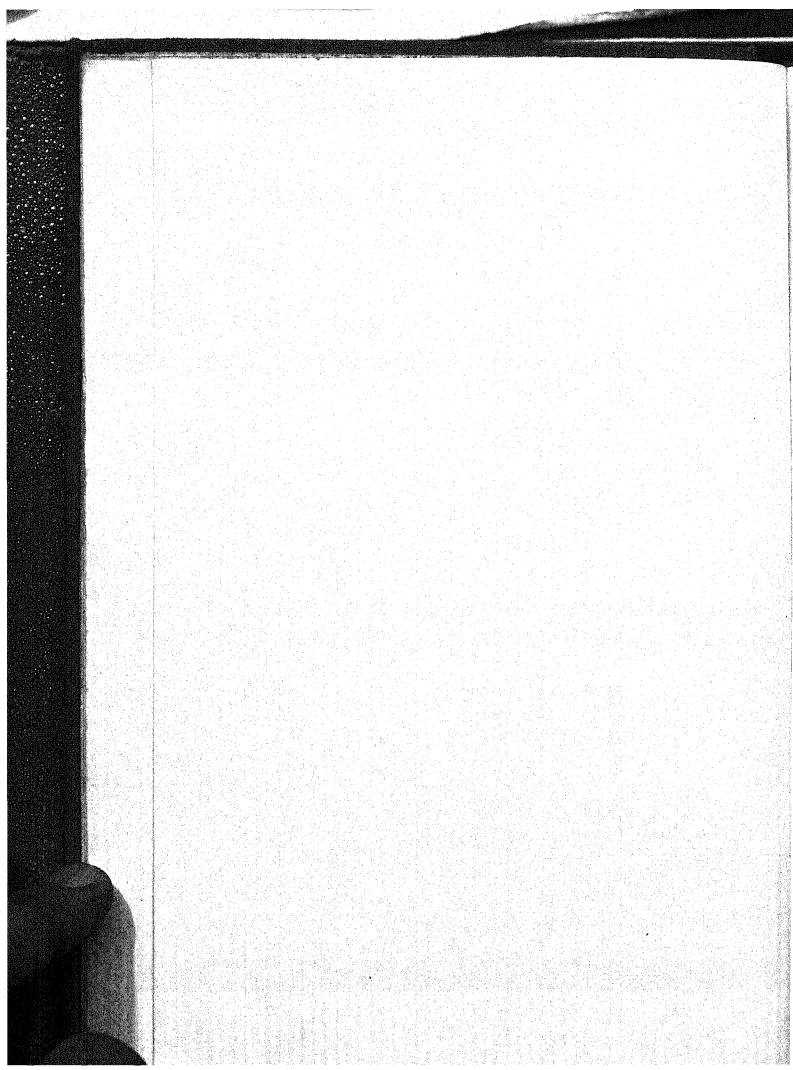
I have included some eighty passages from Greek authors and from papyri in order that the reader may catch from them, if possible, something of the spirit of the writers and their language. To realise the pronunciation it will be probably necessary to read these aloud. The translations are my own except where the name of a translator is given, and except in the case of most of the papyri, translations of which are given in the editions and repeated here.

The bibliography gives a section of the work done on the language during the last twenty years, a few outstanding works of older date being included. It will help to illustrate the large number of scholars to which anyone studying or writing upon any aspect of the language is indebted. There are four of whom special mention must be made here. The *Griechische Grammatik* of Brugmann and Thumb is an indispensable basic work. The majority of the examples in the two chapters on syntax come from this book. For the dialects C. D. Buck's admirable *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* covers the whole field in the clearest and most compact manner possible. His classifications form the basis of my summary in chapter vii, and his texts seemed so well chosen that I felt no advantage would be gained by going outside them. Again the study of modern Greek has been made convenient and accessible by Thumb and Hatzidakis, on whose work I have relied to a large extent in the preparation of my final chapter.

The book has been written during moments of leisure; but the task has been a pleasure throughout, and I have to thank Professor G. E. K. Brauholtz, who edits the series, and Messrs Faber and Faber for giving me the opportunity of writing it. The former has read most of the book in typescript and made valuable suggestions for its improvement. Thanks are also due to Professor R. M. Dawkins, who has kindly read the last two chapters, and given me the benefit of his advice, to others who have helped in various ways, and not least to my sister who has prepared the index. The book has been fortunate also in being entrusted to the care and helpfulness of the Cambridge University Press.

NOTE

Vowel-length is not shown everywhere, but mainly where it is useful for comparative purposes.



Chapter I

ORIGINS

The Greek language is a member of a linguistic family known as Indo-European or Indo-Germanic, often popularly called Aryan, although that name is now technically reserved for a single branch of the family. The family is divided into eight or more branches, most of which are again subdivided into further languages or groups of languages. The known branches are as follows: the Germanic, including modern English, Dutch and German, the Scandinavian languages and the extinct Gothic, once spoken by the barbarian invaders who sacked Rome: the Balto-Slavonic group, which comprises Lithuanian, Russian and kindred dialects, Polish, Bohemian and southern Slavonic such as Serb and Bulgarian: the Aryan group, consisting of the languages of Persia and some of its neighbours, and the Aryan languages of India, from the ancient Vedic and Sanskrit down to modern forms such as Hindi and Bengali: Greek: modern Armenian: modern Albanian¹: the Italic group, which consisted of the ancient Oscan and Umbrian languages, and of Latin, which, by reason of the Roman political supremacy, spread over an extensive area and became the parent of the Romance languages of to-day: and lastly Celtic, once probably spoken throughout western Europe, but now shrunk to a small portion of the British Isles and Brittany.² There have been Indo-European languages, now lost, which belonged, so far as is known, to none of these groups. Such is a language called

¹ Both Armenian and Albanian are isolated languages spoken over very small areas, and may be the remnants of a large group that may be called Thraco-Illyrian, including ancient Phrygian, ancient Thracian and ancient Illyrian, of all which little is known.

² This group comprises Irish, Manx and Gaelic and also Welsh and Breton. It is represented in the United States and Canada by emigrants from Great Britain as are most of the modern Indo-European languages by speakers from the districts in Europe to which they belong.

Tocharish, records of which have been found in Central Asia, as well as at least two of the languages spoken in the territory of the Hittite Empire whose centre was in Cappadocia.

These languages are grouped in a single family because of certain features common to them all. These are best explained by examples. Take the word meaning *father* in most of the groups. Eng. *father* corresponds to Skt. *pitr-*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Arm. *hair*, Lat. *pater*, O.Ir. *athir*. Here is a stem common to six groups. In three of them the consonants are identical, while in three they have witnessed developments that have changed them. These changes take place in accordance with phonetic laws. Wherever for example an unvoiced labial stop (*p*) is found in Greek or Latin under similar circumstances, a labial spirant (*f*) will be found in English. Though each language introduces and develops its peculiar changes, we can clearly see a common stem *patér*¹ running through them. Again take the word meaning *to carry*: Eng. *bear*, Old Church Slavonic *bergn*,² Skt. *bhārāmi*, Gk. *φέρω*, Arm. *berem*, Lat. *fero*, O.Ir. *berim*. Here again is a word of common meaning and of similar form, which leads us to conclude that the same stem **bher-* runs through these languages. These and other common stems are not found in other language families such as the Semitic, the Ural-Altaic, or the Bantu.

On examining the languages of the family more closely we discover that grammatical relationships are expressed by means of inflexion and that a word normally consists of three elements, root, suffix and ending. The Greek word *ἵππος* for example may be divided into *hipp-* root, *-o-* stem-suffix, *-s* nominative termination. The same division may be observed in Latin *equ-u-s*. None of these elements could be separated, as is the case with the elements that make up words in the languages known as agglutinative, such as Finnish, Turkish

¹ The symbol *ə* represents a vowel known as *schwa* or the neutral vowel, heard in English in the last syllable of the word 'father'.

² The letter *g* represents a nasalised vowel pronounced in a similar way to the French *un*.

or Hungarian. In these languages grammatical relationships are expressed by the incorporation of elements which have a definite meaning to the mind and may be added to a word at will. To a Greek the stem-suffix *-o-* had no separate meaning, and the root itself could not be employed in speech standing alone. Thought was in terms of words or phrases. All grammatical relationships were normally expressed by such inflexion, whether in the noun, adjective or verb. Modern Indo-European languages have largely lost their inflexions owing to the process known as phonetic change, by which words tend to become shortened and simplified and syllables disappear under the force of a strong stress accent. English has the fewest inflexions left of all. In their place the modern languages tend to use prepositions and auxiliary verbs, and to express person and number in the verb the pronouns, which retain their inflexion, are generally joined to the verb forms.

The grammatical relationships of the noun were expressed by inflexions termed cases, which in the various languages were formed in the same or a similar way. There were eight cases originally in the Indo-European language family, of which most of the language groups lost or confused at least two. The relationship of the case forms in the various languages is clearly perceptible. Take for instance the genitive singular feminine in *a-* stems. Here we cannot take an example from English as the inflexions have long ago been lost, but for the Germanic group must go to Gothic. Goth. *gib-ōs* corresponds to Lith. *rañk-os* 'of the hand', Skt. *gnās-*, Gk. *θε-ᾶς*, Lat. *familī-ās* (in the expression *pater-familias*) 'of the family', Ir. *mnā* 'of the woman'. All these endings go back phonetically to a common form **-ās*. Again comparing the accusative plural of *o-* stems throughout the groups, we find a correspondence as follows: Goth. *wulf-ans*, Old Prus. (a Slavonic language) *deiw-ans*, Skt. *vṛk-ān*, Gk. *λύκ-ους* (from an older *λύκ-ovs*), Alb. *ket-d* (from an older *ket-ons*), Lat. *lup-ōs*, Ir. *fir-u*. All these endings again go back phonetically to a common form **-ons*. Throughout the languages we also find among the nouns *o-* stems, *ā-* stems, other vowel stems,

and consonant stems. Similarly, parallel verb formations occur throughout the languages. Indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative moods as well as those parts of the verb grouped with the infinitive were originally parts of the Indo-European verb, and, in spite of confusion between subjunctive and optative in the majority of the languages, they may all be traced throughout the various groups. In this the Indo-European verb differs from the Semitic or the verb in other linguistic families. Similar syntactical construction and expression occur also through the languages of the Indo-European family, which being alike in this respect differ from languages in other families.

Two further morphological features, which distinguish the Indo-European linguistic family from others, may here be mentioned. Both are freely represented in Greek. The first is reduplication of the verb stem. Reduplication is a feature by no means confined to the family, but the method and limitations of its employment throughout the various languages constitute a link in the chain of phenomena that bind them together and separate them from languages that belong to other families. Compare for instance the following reduplicated forms of the root **dhē-*, which means 'to set', 'place', or 'lay': O.H.G. *teta*, Skt. *dadhātū*, Dor. Gk. τέθεται, Lat. *con-didī*; or of the root **men-* 'to think', 'remember': Skt. *mamṇātē*, Gk. μέμνηται, Lat. *memini*; or of the root **dō-* 'to give': Skt. *dadātū*, Gk. δέδοται, Lat. *dedi*. In all these instances we find the same method of inflexion employed to express generally the verbal relationship of time and action that we know as the perfect tense.

The second feature, which is particularly characteristic of the Indo-European languages, is that usually known by its German name of *ablaut* or vowel-gradation. In the Semitic languages a regular mode of inflexion is the variation of the vowel of the root, but in the Indo-European family, although the same thing took place to a much less extent, it carried no fixed variation of grammatical relationship or meaning. Roots make their appearance in the various languages sometimes with one vowel, sometimes with another, a phenomenon known as *qualitative gradation*; or again sometimes

with vowels of different length, with a very weak vowel or with no vowel at all, a phenomenon known as quantitative gradation. Both sorts may be combined. The following examples will best illustrate the facts, and while illustrating the homogeneousness of the various Indo-European languages will also serve to explain the appearance of ablaut in Greek to be examined in detail later. The Goth. form *hlif-a*, meaning 'I steal', and the Gk. κλέπ-τω go back to a root **klep*, but the forms of the perfect tense, Goth. *hlaf*, Gk. κέ-κλοφ-ε go back to a form with the vowel *o*. Similarly compare Goth. *leihw-a*, Gk. λείπ-ω with Goth. *laihw*,¹ Gk. λέ-λοιπ-ε. Where the vowel of the root is long the same alternation occurs. Compare Goth. *sēps* 'seed', Gk. ῥιμα 'thing thrown', 'dart', Lat. *sēmen* with Goth. *saisō*,² Dor. Gk. ἀφ-έ-ω-κα.² Compare also the variation seen in Gk. δο-τήρ, δώ-τωρ. A different gradation may be seen in the comparison of Gk. ὄκρ-ις, Lat. *ocris* with Gk. ἄκρ-ος, Lat. *acus*; another again if we compare Gk. ὠκ-ύς and Lat. *ōc-ior* with Lat. *āc-er*. Again compare Gk. πῶδ-α, Arm. *ot-kh* with Goth. *fōtus*, Dor. Gk. πῶς and with Lat. *pēs*, *pēd-em*. Here both qualitative and quantitative ablaut appear. Belonging to the root of Gk. κλέπτω, noticed above, is also the word κλώψ, 'a thief', showing that a form **klōp*- may be postulated as a variation of the root. The root **sē*- of Gk. ῥιμα, Lat. *sēmen*, had also a short form as is shown by the occurrence of Lat. *sa-tus*, which goes back to a form **sə*-. Lastly if we examine the root **g^uhen*-, meaning 'to kill', we shall find forms in -o- such as Gk. φόνος, in -e- such as Skt. *hānti*, Lat. *de-fendo*, or with no vowel at all such as Gk. ἔπεφνε. Ablaut also developed in several of the different languages separately, so that we may perhaps claim it as a favourite tendency among speakers of Indo-European languages. In our own language examples are the so-called strong verbs: *drink, drank, drunk*; *sing, sang, sung*.

¹ In both these cases it should be noted that Gothic *a* corresponds to an original *o*.

² Both these forms derive from an original **sē-sō*. In Gothic the letters *ai* were used to represent this *ē*-sound. In Greek by phonetic law **sē-sō* became **hē-hō*, and later *ēō*. See p. 44. Gk. ῥιμα is sometimes regarded as unconnected with this root, and as belonging to that of ῥημι, Lat. *iacio*.

The fact of these common stems, common formations, common inflexions and common constructions leads to the conclusion that the languages so related sprang from a single older language. No trace of such a language is extant, but its existence is inferred from the relationship of the languages of the family. This language was the parent Indo-European. The question of how it became divided into the various groups that have spread and subdivided into the modern languages of Europe and India is largely answered by a consideration of the Romance languages, which in recent historical times have all sprung from what was originally the dialect of a small league of market-towns. The growth of the Romance languages brings to the fore a fact of fundamental importance for the right understanding of linguistic problems of every nature, for it illustrates clearly the fact that the questions of language and race are independent of each other. The ancestors of those who to-day speak Spanish, apart from imported Moorish blood, two thousand years ago spoke for the most part an Iberian language probably akin to modern Basque, and partly a Ligurian language, one of them being certainly not Indo-European. Their descendants speak a language descended from Latin because the country was conquered and colonised by the Romans whose language spread over the whole western portion of their Empire. The Spaniards are not racially descended from the Romans. The factors that decide what language a people speaks are social and political, not racial. Those new to linguistic study are inclined to believe that various races speak certain languages because the formation of their speech organs precludes them from pronouncing other sounds, or for other physical reasons. It has been proved that probably in no instance is such the case. No language uses more than a fraction of the sounds capable of being produced by the human speech organs, and no human being is normally incapable of speaking any language existing provided that he acquires it as a young child. Language is a social factor, it is in the same category as music or art, common clay of course as compared with their precious metal. Social reasons alone decide it.

Two main factors are at work. Strong nationalistic feeling will preserve a language among a minority for centuries in spite of inconvenience, discouragement or even persecution. As examples may be cited the revival of Irish in southern Ireland to-day, or the preservation of Albanian through more than two millenniums of Roman, Slav and Turkish domination. On the other hand, if a people becomes reconciled to its political fate and conqueror and conquered settle down amicably together, the necessity for mutual intelligibility operates strongly in the direction of unification of language. As a general rule the language of the conquered finally prevails as being that of the majority, or as being likely to be acquired by the conquerors for the sake of convenience earlier than their own is learnt by a discontented subjugated people. Such was the case with our own language which finally prevailed against Norman French after a long struggle in which it absorbed much of the vocabulary of its rival. The opposite took place in the case of the Romance languages, the chief factor at work being probably the desire for unity of language throughout the Empire; but the two events have this difference. In the first case the conquerors established themselves in the land of the conquered, and it is then that the language¹ of the conquered usually prevails, while in the case of the Roman Empire the various peoples were ruled by foreigners from a distance. Other factors are at work, such as a superior race-feeling which disdains the languages of other peoples; but in every case it is important to bear in mind that all these factors are social factors, and that the most prevalent force is the necessity for intelligible intercourse, which is the *raison d'être* of language.

We may now apply these principles as far as we are able to the extension of the Indo-European languages over the wide area in which they have for centuries been spoken. We shall be almost certainly untrue to fact if we speak of an Indo-

¹ A notable exception was the giving way of Celtic before English in the British Isles, though in this case the conquered population was largely driven into outlying regions, so that there was probably little mingling of the two peoples.

European race. Efforts have been made in the past to delineate such a race, usually tending to identify it with tall, fair-haired northern peoples, but they have been unsuccessful. There is no proof that all the racial ancestors of those who now speak Indo-European languages did so themselves. They may have spoken such languages in the majority of cases, while it is also possible that none of them did so. All Indo-European languages contain as a majority of their vocabulary words that admit of no satisfactory Indo-European etymology. Of a certain number of these the etymology remains to be demonstrated, and of some it is naturally true that, though they may have lost their cognates in all the other languages, they may yet be of true Indo-European descent. There still however remains a proportion of the vocabulary of each language which cannot be accounted for as Indo-European. In some languages, particularly those on the eastern fringe of the language area, this is fully evident, large sections of vocabulary having been borrowed from known languages of other families, but in most cases the words comprising this foreign element have no known affinities. The inference is that they are drawn from lost languages spoken by the ancestors of those who at present speak Indo-European languages. How then did it come about that such peoples came to speak Indo-European languages? We can be reasonably certain that there existed no Indo-European empire corresponding to the Roman Empire in the part that the latter played in the spread of the Romance languages. Migratory bands speaking Indo-European languages must have occupied large tracts of land, destroying, driving out or enslaving the previous populations, or settling side by side with them. In Europe they may well have found wide areas extremely thinly populated. In all cases where Indo-European languages prevailed, the speakers may be thought of as in a large majority and probably maintained themselves as a superior caste. In some cases the language may well have taken centuries to gain the upper hand. Indeed there is good evidence that more than one of the pre-Indo-European languages of Europe remained till Roman times. Basque maintains

itself to-day, and the Spaniards conquered by the Roman arms probably spoke a language akin to it if not its actual ancestor. On the Illyrian coast a non-Indo-European language was probably in use till Roman times. Of northern Europe little is known. In India we know that the Aryans kept themselves separated from previous populations by a rigid system of caste. As slaves a conquered population may have been compelled to adopt the language of the conquerors, and again when racial animosities died down and varying elements in a population became welded, the language of the majority prevailed with a strong admixture of vocabulary or even of construction of the language that disappeared.

It is probable that there was some centre from which these migratory bands of Indo-Europeans spread. If ever a single parent Indo-European language was spoken, it would have been spoken for a long time in a self-contained area. As this became too small for an increasing population various bands moved off, or while remaining on the outskirts of the original centre became to a certain extent isolated from the other speakers. This isolation or partial¹ isolation would produce a dialect with peculiarities of its own. Continued isolation would cause the dialect to grow into a language. A modern example of such a dialect is the English spoken in the United States of America, which shows signs of beginning to develop into a separate language, and indeed might have already done so had the United States remained as much isolated from Europe as at first. In the case of the early Indo-Europeans the contact of every such dialect with foreign linguistic elements would accelerate its development into a language, a stage reached by any dialect when it becomes unintelligible to those speaking other dialects of the language from which it grew. A gradual separation of the various Indo-European languages extending over a period of some centuries may thus be considered to have taken place, the stage of final dispersion being reached about the end of the third millennium B.C. at the latest, possibly five hundred years earlier. Various

¹ The possibility of contact with speakers of non-Indo-European languages cannot of course be excluded.

attempts have been made to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the locality of the centre from which they spread. The Germans, who for long played with the idea of identifying what they considered to be the central elements of the German race with the essential characteristics of the original Indo-Europeans, placed it in the marshes of the Vistula. Scandinavia was also put forward. The Steppes of Russia and Asia Minor have been considered, and more recently the Hungarian plain. It has been said that as a word common to several Indo-European languages (Eng. *beech*, Russian *buz-ind*, Gk. *φηγός*, Lat. *fāgus*)¹ indicates that the original speakers knew the beech tree, we may place their home west of a line drawn from Königsberg in East Prussia to south-east Asia Minor, for the beech does not grow east of such a line. A European region is indicated by the fact that they were familiar with the horse and the ox, but not with the ass or the camel. The earliest extant literature in any Indo-European language is the Sanskrit Rig-Veda, a collection of hymns, dating from the twelfth, and possibly in some cases from the fourteenth, century B.C. or even earlier. The people who composed these Vedic hymns had passed the north-west frontier of India, but were as yet confined to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, and the names of three of the deities in whose honour the hymns were composed have appeared in Hittite inscriptions from Asia Minor dating from the fifteenth century B.C. It has been generally concluded that this indicates that the Aryans were passing through Asia Minor at this date on their way east, although it is an equally valid inference that the gods, whose names admit of no satisfactory Indo-European etymology, belonged originally to Asia Minor and were borrowed thence by the Aryans. Whichever conclusion be the true one, this fact proves a close contact between the Aryans and Asia Minor and makes it reasonable to suppose that they passed² to India and Irania through northern Asia Minor from a region in north-west

¹ We cannot however be sure of the original meaning, for the word *φηγός* in Greek means *oak*, not *beech*.

² Another view of equal weight is that the Aryans passed to Irania by the Caucasus and the western shores of the Caspian.

Asia Minor or south-eastern Europe, pushed onwards, it may be, by further bands of Indo-European-speaking peoples, who were the ancestors of Phrygians and Armenians. If this were so, we may suppose that these Aryans entered Asia Minor about 2000 B.C.

It would be about the same time that the earliest Greek-speaking bands began to break down from the Danube valley or regions round the coast of the Black Sea towards the Aegaeon. The first record that we have of them dates from the fourteenth century B.C. The Hittite inscriptions mention a Tavagalavas king of Ahhiyava, who may be Eteocles king of the Achaeans. A king Antaravas (Andreu) of the same people is stated to be ruler of Lazpa, which is perhaps Lesbos. In the thirteenth century B.C. we find Attarassiyas (perhaps Atreus) and Alaksandrus (Alexander) kings of the Achaeans, a people apparently settled in the eastern Aegaeon islands and the south coast of Asia Minor. The evidence is insufficient for a decision as to whether these Achaeans were invading the eastern Aegaeon from the mainland of Greece or were preparing to enter Greece from Asia Minor and the islands. Certain it is that the Greek language was brought to Greece from the north whether or not by way of Asia Minor, but at what date it appeared in Greece it is as yet impossible to say. Between the break-up of the Indo-European community and the invasion of Greece the language had been developing those characteristics that differentiated it from a dialect of the parent tongue. Though it was afterwards split into four main dialect groups, the ancestors of all four were together long enough to develop a true Greek language from which they all derived. The dialects were developed during the period of invasion, the speakers being separated from the time of the advance of the earliest bands, represented later probably by the Attic-Ionic dialects, till that of the completion of the Dorian invasion. The speakers could never have completely lost touch with each other. The dialects are not separate languages, but remained mutually intelligible till the end. The period of the development of a characteristically Greek language may be tentatively set down between about 2100 and 1600 B.C. Then the period of invasion began.

As soon as these Indo-Europeans entered the area of the Aegaeon they came in contact with the ancient Minoan civilisation, whose centre for hundreds of years had been in Crete and which had ruled the Aegaeon. On the mainland this civilisation was powerful between 1600 and 1200 B.C. with its centres at Mycenae and elsewhere in the Peloponnese. The Minoans of Crete did not speak an Indo-European language, but it is impossible to state certainly whether this was true of the Mycenaeans or not. Opinion is divided as to whether they constituted linguistically a continuation of the Minoan civilisation of Crete, or represented an early wave of Greek-speaking invaders, perhaps the Achaeans known to Homer, who had absorbed the culture of the people they had conquered and were carrying it on. For our purpose the question, though of interest, is not one of the first importance. We know that the Greeks developed their language somewhere north of Greece, perhaps in the valleys of the Axios and Strymon in Macedonia, and that they then set forth in separate waves for the invasion of Greece, where they came in contact with the culture and language of an ancient civilisation, which left its mark upon their speech for all time.

It is to this advance of the Greeks in separate waves of migration that the division of the language into the four main dialects may be attributed. These four dialects are Acolic, Ionic-Attic, Arcado-Cyprian and West Greek including Doric. In historic times Arcado-Cyprian was spoken in Arcadia in the centre of the Peloponnese, where it was hemmed in on all sides by Doric dialects, and in the island of Cyprus. This clearly points to the conclusion that this dialect was once spoken throughout a wider area of the Peloponnese that included the southern and eastern coasts, and that free intercourse existed between the Peloponnese and the south coast of Asia Minor and beyond as far as Cyprus. The Peloponnese must then have been invaded and conquered by peoples speaking other Greek dialects who subjugated those who spoke Arcadian and cut them off from the sea. It is uncertain whether this event took place at the Dorian invasions or at the coming of the Achaeans. The Dorians were the last of the Greek migratory bands from the

north to descend upon Greece, and their invasion did not take place till after Homeric times. They found in the Peloponnese, which they occupied, the people known to Homer as Achaeans. If it was the Dorians who brought the West Greek dialects to the Peloponnese, Arcado-Cyprian must have been the dialect of those Achaeans who occupied the Peloponnese. But the dialect strictly called Doric comprises only a portion of the West Greek dialects. The Achaeans of historic times, who lived in the north of the Peloponnese along the southern shore of the Gulf of Corinth, spoke a West Greek dialect, but were not Dorian. There is no evidence to prevent us regarding these Achaeans as descendants of the Homeric Achaeans. It may then be the case that the Homeric Achaeans spoke a West Greek dialect, and if this is so, it follows that upon their invasion and occupation of the Peloponnese they found already there a former stratum of Greek invaders speaking the dialect which we now know as Arcado-Cyprian.

This Arcado-Cyprian dialect however was not the only dialect that in ancient times had been spoken in the Peloponnese. In historic times Ionic was spoken only in that strip of the coast of Asia Minor known as Ionia lying between the Aeolian cities to the north and the Dorian to the south. Closely akin to Ionic was Attic, spoken only in Attica. But time was when Ionic-Attic dialects were spoken in the north-east of the Peloponnese. Such was the Greek tradition recorded by Herodotus, and there is no reason to doubt its truth. Ionic progress was in an eastward direction. Driven from the Peloponnese the Ionians occupied Attica and spread thence to Asia Minor. In prehistoric times Ionians lived in West Greece, perhaps on both sides of the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, as may be inferred from the name of the Ionian Gulf or Ionian Sea, which seems to be ancient. The Ionians were driven away by the invading Achaeans. We have already seen that it is uncertain whether these latter spoke a West Greek or Arcado-Cyprian dialect.¹ If they spoke the latter, we may conclude that the Ionians were the

¹ The Arcadian dialect of historical times employed many words known elsewhere only in the Homeric poems.

earliest Greek-speaking people to reach Greece. Throughout historic times the Ionians regarded themselves as the oldest of all Greeks, as autochthonous or aboriginal. Dorians were new-comers, only semi-Hellenised. It is also possible that at one time all Greeks were known by the general name of Ionians, as in Homeric times they were known as Achaeans and later as Hellenes. The Persians knew them as such—Yauna—but this is clearly because the Ionians of Asia Minor were the first Greeks with whom they came in contact, just as later the Hellenes became known to the western world as Greeks because *Graeci* was the name of a small Epirote tribe with whom the Romans first came in contact. In the Pentateuch however they are referred to under the general name of Javan, that is Ionians (Gen. x. 2, 4), and the date of the ethnological list in which the name occurs may be considered as the fifteenth or sixteenth century B.C. The Achaeans do not appear in this list, the first extant mention of them being, as we have seen, in the Hittite records of the fourteenth century. Thus we may consider it probable that the Achaean¹ domination of Greece began in the fifteenth century B.C.

Amidst so much that is as yet uncertain it remains clear that the Greeks came down to Greece in four separate migrations, the order in which the dialects advanced being probably Ionic, Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, West Greek. In no case were these dialects long out of touch with each other and they were perhaps never completely so. West Greek however shows factors which prove it to have been more widely separated from the other three, which in contradistinction to it may be loosely placed in a group by themselves.

The Greek language as we know it, however, the flexible rich language of Homeric and classical literature, had not emerged from the formative stage when Ionians and Achaeans

¹ It is possible that the name Ἀχαιοί was not in origin Greek, but belonged to a band of wanderers from the Danube valley who descending southwards conquered the first Greeks with whom they came in contact and established themselves as a ruling caste, adopting the language of their subjects and passing on their own name to them. There was a Germanic tribe called Ingaev-ones, a name that apart from the suffix corresponds exactly phonetically to the name Ἀχαιοί.

broke down into Greece. Here it came in contact with the languages of the civilisations that were settled in the Aegæan before it. In early times there was free intercourse across the Aegæan between Greece and Asia Minor. Many place-names in Greece reflect the influence of Asia Minor, notably those with the suffix *-nthos*, such as Corinth, Perinthus, Acanthus, which correspond to names in *-ndos*, *-nda* in Asia Minor, such as Labranda, Thryanda, Aspendus. Such names occur in the Cyclades, Euboea, the northern portion of the Peloponnese, Aetolia and the Ionian Islands.

This suffix is not Indo-European. It occurs in the name of the Cretan labyrinth. It is thus possible that Minoan influence was at work to account for these names both on the mainland of Greece and in Asia Minor. Names in *-ssos* are also characteristic of both sides of the Aegæan, and there were many of these in Attica where the suffix occurs as *-ττος*. The contact between the invading bands of Achæans and the Hittite Empire of Asia Minor has already been noticed. In Asia Minor there was a conglomeration of languages many of which survived till historical times, Lydian, Carian, Lycian and others. Several languages have been discovered buried among the records at Boghaz-Keui, two of which show affinities to Indo-European. With many of these the Greeks must have been in contact in Asia Minor. They remembered older peoples who had been in Greece before them, Pelasgians, Leleges, Minyans. Who these people were or whence they came is unknown beyond conjecture, but that some of them at least spoke languages that were not Indo-European is certain, and with them all at a certain stage the Greeks must have been in more or less close contact. Interpenetration of peoples was easy in those days. Small settlements formed the communities, and the tracts of land between were liable to be settled by any wanderers or colonists. This would be particularly so during periods of migration characterised by the arrival of Greek-speaking Indo-Europeans whether by land or sea. Even to-day Thracian shepherds wander down into Greece at certain seasons of the year, and the communities and families of Vlachs scattered throughout the

various Balkan countries illustrate what may well have taken place to a far larger extent in prehistoric times. Neighbouring communities in instance after instance may have found themselves quite unintelligible to each other, and much borrowing of vocabulary must have taken place. In intervals between warfare and raiding it was necessary to understand the other's language to a certain extent for the purposes of trade. Slavery must also have been a fruitful cause of admixture of language. Children would learn foreign words from slaves.

Speech tendencies are surprisingly persistent. Not only is there a linguistic force inherent in communities that makes itself apparent in adapting to a certain mould the phonetics of a totally different language if acquired for any purpose by a people in place of a former tongue, but ancient tendencies, perhaps buried for centuries, reappear even in syntactical construction. Armenian is an Indo-European language, but its words have been reduced to unrecognisable phonetic combinations by the force of a strong stress accent originally on the penultimate syllable, the ultimate having since in every case disappeared (leaving the accent on what is now the ultimate). This strong stress is derived from the Georgian languages of the Caucasus, which are not Indo-European, but were once spoken by the ancestors of those who now speak Armenian. The Iberian languages of Spain, if as is probably the case they were akin to Basque, contained no unvoiced labial spirant (the sound *f*). After the Roman occupation Latin became the language of Spain and has developed into the Spanish of to-day. The sound *f* was frequent in Latin, but it has vanished in Spanish, passing by way of a mere aspirate into nothingness (cf. the Spanish for son, *hijo*, from Latin *filium*). An Irishman when speaking English not only betrays phonetic evidence of the Celtic language his ancestors employed, but actually says 'It's a man I am', a literal translation of the phrase 'Is fear me', which is the normal construction in Irish.

These examples will help to show to what an extent the Greek tongue when brought from the north must have been influenced and altered by the languages of the civilisations

which were in the country before it. The influence of these languages, Cretan or Asianic, accounts for that richness of vocabulary and expression that made Greek the vehicle of a literature that ranks among the greatest in the world. Greek remained essentially Indo-European, but its characteristics were softened and enriched, its scope enlarged, and its whole structure permeated by forces whose origin must have lain in the non-Indo-European languages which it encountered during what may be regarded as still the first stage of its development. The outlines of the points of contact between the invading Greeks and the peoples and languages which they found in occupation of Greece before them are hazy, but the main facts remain clear. In the Indo-European home, wherever it was, one of several dialects was formed due to the increasing isolation of its speakers from their linguistic kinsmen. Its speakers moved farther away, and there followed a period in which this dialect grew into a language. This took place possibly in Macedonia. Again the speakers began to form separate bands, and these descended into Greece in four waves, although at no time were they ever remotely separated from each other. Each dialect, as it descended, came in touch with non-Indo-European languages which exercised a modifying and enriching influence upon it. Thus Greek was formed. At no stage should we imagine the language to have been entirely isolated from foreign influences. Borrowing took place between neighbouring languages and original Indo-European. Borrowing must still have taken place during the formative stage in Macedonia, but such borrowing was confined to vocabulary. The languages that were in Greece already affected not only Greek vocabulary but also phonology and syntax.

We shall conclude this chapter with extracts from Greek literature chosen as representative as far as possible of the various stages of its development, intended to illustrate, chiefly from an etymological aspect, the different elements that went to make up the language. The separate stages will be dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters, so that at this point we shall confine ourselves to an attempt to discover what light

is thrown from these sources upon the origins of the language. All extracts are taken at random. We shall begin with the Homeric poems, in which with the exception of the Vedic Hymns of India we have the oldest extant Indo-European literature. Here is the account of Odysseus and his comrades setting out to explore the Cyclops' island:

Ἥμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,
 νῆσον θαυμάζοντες ἐδινεόμεσθα κατ' αὐτήν,
 ὥρσαν δὲ νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
 αἴγας ὀρεσκώσους, ἵνα δειπνήσειαν ἑταῖροι.
 αὐτίκα καμπύλα τόξα καὶ αἰγανέας δολιχαύλους
 εἰλόμεθ' ἐκ νηῶν, διὰ δὲ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες
 βάλλομεν· αἶψα δ' ἔδωκε θεὸς μενοεικέα θήρην.
 νῆες μὲν μοι ἔποντο δυώδεκα, ἐς δὲ ἑκάστην
 ἑνέα λάγχανον αἶγες· ἔμοι δὲ δέκ' ἐξελον οἴω.
 ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπταν ἤμαρ ἐς ἡέλιον καταδύντα
 ἤμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ.
 οὐ γάρ πω νηῶν ἐξέφθιτο οἶνος ἐρυθρός,
 ἀλλ' ἐνέη· πολλὸν γὰρ ἐν ἀμφιφορεῦσιν ἕκαστοι
 ἠφύσαμεν Κικόνων ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἑλόντες.
 Κυκλώπων δ' ἐς γαῖαν ἐλευσσομεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντων,
 καπνὸν τ' αὐτῶν τε φθογῆν δίω·ν τε καὶ αἰγῶν.
 ἤμος δ' ἡέλιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφος ἦλθε,
 δὴ τότε κοιμήθημεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.
 ἤμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,
 καὶ τότε ἔγῳ ἀγορὴν θέμενος μετὰ πᾶσιν ἔειπον·
 "Ἄλλοι μὲν νῦν μίμνετ', ἔμοι ἐρήρηες ἑταῖροι·
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺν νηὶ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἑμοῖς ἐτάροισιν
 ἔλθῶν τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι, οἳ τινὲς εἰσιν,
 ἦ ῥ' οἳ γ' ὕβρισται τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
 ἦε φιλόξενοι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστί θεοῦδής".

Hom. *Od.* ix. 152-76.

The conjunction ἤμος that opens this passage is not a word of direct Indo-European origin, but one that with its correlative τῆμος formed itself, as it appears, within Greek, being due to some extent to confusion with the substantive ἡμαρ 'day'. It accordingly illustrates the vitality of the Greek language in pre-Homeric times. The familiar particle δέ again is of obscure origin, and possibly derives from an Indo-European pronominal stem. The lavish use of particles in Greek and the pliability they give to the language are features that are instinctive of the subtler non-Indo-European languages of the

Aegaeon. ἡριγένεια is a typical Greek and Indo-European compound composed of stems correlative to our own *early* and *kin*. The verb φάνη is Indo-European. The following compound consists of a stem borrowed from an eastern language (ῥόδο-ν) and a stem that finds a cognate in Sanskrit (δάκτυλος). The noun Ἡώς is the familiar Indo-European name for the dawn, from an earlier **ausōs*, which gave our own *east* and Lat. *Aurora*. The noun νῆσον is probably of Indo-European origin and to be connected with the stem of the verb νή-χω, Lat. *nare*. It would have been formed from that stem however after Greek was separate and had launched out upon its own, a fact that is intelligible since the Indo-European ancestors of the Greeks would have been unfamiliar with islands till they met with them in the Aegaeon. The stem θαυμ-άζω cannot be connected with any certain correlatives. Here possibly we see a borrowed word. The verb δινέω has cognates in the Baltic languages, Sanskrit and Irish. The preposition κατά is of Indo-European origin, while αὐτός, though its origin is not clear, can scarcely be otherwise than the same. The following verbs are of certain Indo-European origin: ὤρσαν with cognates in most other languages of the family; δειπ-νή-σειαν, formed from the noun δειπνον; κοσμη-θέντες; βάλλ-ομεν; ἔδωκε, a familiar and widespread Indo-European root, seen in Latin *do*; ἔπ-οντο, with cognates in several languages; λάγχ-ανον, with cognates in the Balto-Slavonic languages; κατα-δύ-ντα; ἤμεθα, with cognates in the Aryan languages; δαι-νύμενοι, whose root means 'to share' and is found in Sanskrit, Armenian and Latin *diues*; ἔξ-έ-φθι-το, a stem occurring in Sanskrit and in Latin *sitis*; ἐν-έην, the common verb 'to be'; ἡφύσ-αμεν, with a cognate in Latin *imbuo*; κοιμήθημεν, a widespread stem, seen in English *home*, the Balto-Slavonic languages and Irish; θέ-μενος; ἔ-ειπ-ον; μί-μν-ετε, with cognates in Aryan, Armenian, Latin and Celtic; πειρ-ήσομαι, a widespread stem; the aorist εἰλόμεθα, ἔξ-ελον, ἐλόντες, cognate with English *sell*. Of twenty-six verbs and participles employed in this passage we find only two that cannot be definitely related to known Indo-European roots. These are the participles θαυμάζοντες

already noticed, and ἑλθών, the latter of frequent use and simple meaning. This we may suspect to be a borrowed word.

Apart from the proper names of the Cicones and the Cyclopes the passage contains fifty-four substantives and adjectives. Of these seven stems, standing alone or as members of compounds, admit of no certain Indo-European etymology. The seven are interesting, and instructive. The first is the first member of the epithet of Zeus, αἰγίοχος. The aegis, as might well be expected, is not of Greek origin and we may look to Asia Minor for its home. The bow (τόξον) does not appear to be Indo-European, and the fact that this is true of so common a weapon illustrates the extent of the penetration of non-Greek vocabulary. In l. 167 we find φθογγή used for the bleating of sheep, and this with its kindred verb φθέγγουαι is a common enough word. It has however no known Indo-European etymology, although if borrowed it must have appeared at an early stage in the history of the language, for the stem shows ablaut, which, as we have seen, is a typical Indo-European phenomenon. Again the word κνέφας 'darkness' seems to be a foreign word, the Indo-European stem with this meaning being probably that seen in Latin *tenebrae* which has a cognate in Sanskrit. A more common word is θάλασσα. This we may well believe to have been borrowed, for the parent language seems to have possessed no word for 'sea'. The Greeks adopted the name that they found in use on the shores of the Aegaeon. In the last line occurs the compound φιλόξαινοι, the second member of which is of well-attested Indo-European origin. The stem φιλ-ο-, however, common as it is at all stages of the history of the language, cannot be satisfactorily placed in relationship to any known stem of sufficiently close meaning in any other Indo-European language. Most surprising of all the familiar νόος (Attic νοῦς) seems to be a foreign word, borrowed from Asia Minor or Crete. Thus a passage selected at random from the *Odyssey* gives us in the case of both verbs and nouns a proportion of about one in eight that cannot definitely be stated to be Indo-European. Moreover the

majority of this fraction consists of words of ordinary meaning and simple occurrence. The passage makes it clear that the vocabulary of the language is predominantly Indo-European, but that probably borrowing of words in ordinary use in the speech of pre-Greek peoples took place at an early stage.

We will next turn to Herodotus to discover if he gives us the same or similar results. Here is the story of the King of Egypt's cure for blindness:

Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηγὴν, συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα· τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεις, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο. τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμώντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς ἐξίκει· τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημῆς καὶ ἀναβλέπει γυναικὸς οὐρῶ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μούνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἑοῦσα ἀπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναικὰς τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἡ τῆς τῷ οὐρῶ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος, ἐς ταύτην συναλίσσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὐρῶ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναικᾶ, ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγῶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγimia ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίον ἐστι ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἑόντα ἑκάτερον λίθου, μήκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πήχεων ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πήχεων.

Hdt. II. 111.

In this passage out of about forty-three substantives and adjectives there are seven which are of obscure or unknown origin. This gives us much the same proportion as the Homeric passage, and as two of these are variations of the same stem we find the proportion, six out of forty-two, to be almost exactly identical. The stem that gives us βασιλῆην and βασιλεύς is not of Indo-European origin. Like words of similar meaning, ἄναξ and τύραννος, it is borrowed probably from Asia Minor.

Again the abstract ἀτασθαλίη, formed from the adjective ἀτάσθαλος, is probably not Indo-European. The name was borrowed it may be from peoples whose attitude towards the invading or settling Greeks perhaps reflected what the

word is intended to convey, and not unnaturally. The familiar word χρόνος provides further etymological uncertainty. It perhaps came from peoples with ancient civilisations who may have employed it as an astronomical term. The word βῶλος 'clod' is suggestively Indo-European in form, but has no known correlatives in other languages. It possibly constitutes a case of Indo-European origin with the loss in other languages of all material for comparison. Towards the close of the passage occurs the expression ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους, of which the two major words are probably non-Indo-European. We can imagine the former word being borrowed in the sense in which Herodotus uses it, 'obelisk', from the temples of Asia Minor, and its meaning of 'spit' may be secondary. The well-known λίθος with its derivatives seems also not to be Indo-European. It may well be that the Greeks first met with stone used for building and other purposes of civilisation when they came in contact with the old civilisations of the Aegæan. The passage provides two dozen verb stems, and although several of these are of obscure or doubtful origin, there are none that can be safely concluded not to be Indo-European. ἐλθεῖν, mentioned above under the Homeric passage, and λαβεῖν are apparently stems formed within Greek itself in each case owing to confusion between two existing stems which were ancient.

We will now take a passage from one of the great dramatists and seek for similar results. Aeschylus will be most suitable because in time he is the oldest of the three whose works are extant, and there is a quality about his vocabulary that entitles us to call it richer and more primitive than that of either Sophocles or Euripides. Here is a passage from the *Agamemnon*. The words are spoken by Cassandra:

Ἰδού δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ
 χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δέ με
 κἂν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην μέγα
 φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως, μάτην—
 καλουμένη δὲ φοιτᾷς ὡς ἀγύρτρια
 πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθιῆς ἡνεσχόμην—
 καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ
 ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανάσιμους τύχας.

βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἄντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει,
 θερμῷ κοπείσῃς φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.
 οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοι γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνῆξομεν.
 ἦξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμᾶρος,
 μητρόκτονον φίτιμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός·
 φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος
 κάτεισιν, ἅτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·
 ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας,
 ἦξειν τιν' ὑπτίσασμα κειμένου πατρός,
 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ὦδ' ἀναστένω;
 ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν
 πράξασαν ὡς ἐπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἶλον πόλιν
 οὕτως ἀπαλλᾶσσοσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,
 ἰούσα πράξω· τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν.
 "Αἶδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσενέπω·
 ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,
 ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἰμάτων εὐθησίμων
 ἀπορρυνέντων, ὅμα συμβάλλω τόδε.

Aesch. *Agam.* 1269-94.

In this passage we find a smaller proportion of what are probably non-Indo-European words among the substantives and adjectives. Among about forty-five stems only four can be put down as such, although a few of the remainder are of doubtful or obscure origin. These four are φίλος, mentioned above, and curiously enough its counterpart ἐχθρός, the familiar γῆ 'earth', which with its curious Doric synonym δᾶ sounds like one of the so-called pet names that occur so frequently in Asia Minor, such as Μᾶ, ἄττά, πάπα, δαδᾶ. Was Γᾶ or Δᾶ in the first instance an Anatolian name for the earth-goddess? Last the almost equally familiar ὄρκος admits of no certain Indo-European etymology. Of about two dozen verb stems this passage employs only one that we may definitely conclude to have been borrowed. This is the verb θριγκώω formed from the substantive θριγκός which was a foreign word.

Before summarising conclusions we will examine two further passages. An inscription may enable us to arrive more nearly at the everyday speech of a given Greek dialect than can the literary passages just discussed. The following is an Ionic inscription¹ from Halicarnassus dating from the first half

¹ Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 2nd ed. p. 165.

of the fifth century B.C. It consists of a decree of the city council with regard to property disputes:

Τάδε ὁ σύλλο[γ]ος ἐβουλευσάτο ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσ[έ]ων καὶ Σαλμακιτέων καὶ Λύγδαμιν ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ[ι] ἀγορῇ, μηνὸς Ἑρμαίωνος πέμπτη Ἰσταμένο, ἐπὶ Λέοντος πρυταν[εύον]τος τὸ Ὅασσάσιος κα[ι] Σα[ρυσσ]ώλλο τὸ θεκυλίω νε[ωπ]οί[ω]. τ[ὸς] μνήμονας μὴ παραδίδο[ναι] μήτε γῆν μήτε οἰκ[ία] τοῖς μνήμοσιν ἐπὶ Ἀπολλωνίδεω τὸ Λυγδάμιος μνημονεύοντος καὶ Παναμύω τὸ Κασβώλλιος καὶ Σαλμακιτέων μνημονεύόντων Μεγαβατέω τὸ Ἀφυσάσιος καὶ Φορμίωνος τὸ Π[α]νυάσιος. ἦν δὲ τις θέληι δικάζεσθαι περὶ γῆς ἢ οἰκίαν, ἐπικαλ[έ]τω ἐν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μηνσὶν ἀπ' ὅτ[ε]σο ὁ ἄδос ἐγένετο· νόμοι δὲ κατὰ[ε]ρ νῦν ὀρκώσισαι τὸς δικαστάς. ὅτ[ι] ἂν οἱ μνήμονες εἰδέωσιν, τοῦτο καρτερόν ἐσται. ἦν δὲ τις ὕστερον ἐπικαλῇ τοῦτο τὸ χρόνῳ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μηνῶν, ὅρκον ἐσται τῷ νεμομενῶι τῇ γῇ ἢ τὰ οἰκ[ί]α, ὅρκον δὲ τὸς δικαστάς ἡμ[ε]ῖς κτον δεξαμένους· τὸν δὲ ὅρκον εἰ[ν]αι παρέρντος τὸ ἐνεστηκότος· καρτερός δ' εἶναι γῆς καὶ οἰκίαν οἵτινες τότ' εἶχον ὅτε Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Παναμύης ἐμνημόνευον, εἰ μὴ ὕστερον ἀπετέρασαν. τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἦν τις θέληι συγχέαι ἢ προβῆτα[ι] ψῆφον ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, τὰ ἐόντα αὐτὸ πεπρήσθω καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίδεω εἶναι ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτὸν φευγῆν αἰεὶ· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἡ αὐτῷ ἀξία δέκα στατήρων, αὐτὸν [π]επρήσθαι ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ καὶ μη[δ]αμὰ κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς Ἀλικαρνησσόν. Ἀλικαρνασσέων δὲ τὼς συμπάντων τούτῳι ἐλευθέρον ἐσται, ὅς ἂν ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνει, κατόπιν τὰ ὀρκία ἔταμον καὶ ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλω[ν]ίῳ ἐπικαλῆν.

Peculiarities of orthography and other matters will be explained in a later chapter, and we will do no more at this point than examine the passage from the point of view of vocabulary as in the previous instances. The proportion is practically identical. The number of substantives and adjectives in the passage, apart from proper names, is about twenty-one, and of these three may safely be concluded to be foreign words. They have all appeared in literary passages previously quoted, being the familiar γῆ, χρόνος and ὅρκος. Of twenty-one verbal and participial forms all derive from Indo-European stems except possibly the verb πρυτανεύω, formed from the substantive πρύτανις, which may be a borrowed term.

Finally we will turn to Plato, whose vocabulary we might expect to be more abstract if less varied than those of the writers previously quoted. Naturally it will be less formal than the language of the inscription. Here is a passage extracted at random from the *Republic*:

Οὐκοῦν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαφορὰν, ὡς οἰκίους, στάσιν ἡγήσονται καὶ οὐδὲ ὀνομάσουσιν πόλεμον;

Οὐ γάρ.

Καὶ ὡς διαλλαγησόμενοι ἄρα διοίονται;

Πάννυ μὲν οὖν.

Εὐμενῶς δὴ σωφρονιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ κολάζοντες οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ, σωφρονιστὰς ὄντες, οὐ πολέμιοι.

Οὕτως, ἔφη.

Οὐδ' ἄρα τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλληνες ὄντες κεροῦσιν, οὐδὲ οἰκήσεις ἐμπήρσουσιν, οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσουσιν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει πάντας ἔχθρους αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους αἰεὶ ἔχθρους τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς διαφορᾶς. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάντα οὐτε τὴν γῆν ἐβελήσουσιν κεῖρην αὐτῶν, ὡς φίλων τῶν πολλῶν, οὐτε οἰκίας ἀνατρέψειν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τούτου ποιήσονται τὴν διαφορὰν, μέχρι οὐ ἂν οἱ αἰτίοι ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναιτίων ἀλλοφύλων δοῦναι δίκην.

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ὁμολογῶ οὕτω δεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας προσφέρεισθαι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὡς νῦν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Τιθώμεν δὴ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον τοῖς φύλαξι, μήτε γῆν τέμνειν μήτε οἰκίας ἐμπιπράναι;

Θώμεν, ἔφη, καὶ ἔχειν γε καλῶς ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν.

Ἄλλὰ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐάν τις σοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτρέπῃ λέγειν, οὐδέποτε μνησθήσεσθαι ὃ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν παρωσάμενος πάντα ταῦτα εἰρηκας, τὸ ὡς δυνατὴ αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία γενέσθαι καὶ τίνα τρόπον ποτὲ δυνατὴ· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε, εἰ γένοιτο, πάντ' ἂν εἴη ἀγαθὰ πόλει ἢ γένοιτο, καὶ ἂν οὐ παρολείπειν ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀριστ' ἂν μάχοντο τῷ ἥκιστα ἀπολείπειν ἀλλήλους, γιγνώσκοντές τε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦντες ταῦτα τὰ δνόματα ἑαυτοῦς, ἀδελφούς, πατέρας, υἱούς· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ θῆλυ συστρατεύοιτο, εἴτε καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει εἴτε καὶ ὅπισθεν ἐπιτεταγμένον, φόβον τε ἐνεκα τοῖς ἔχθροις καὶ εἰ ποτὲ τις ἀνάγκη βοηθείας γένοιτο, οἷδ' ὅτι ταύτη πάντῃ ἄμαχοι ἂν εἴην· καὶ οἶκός γε ἂν παρολείπεται ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα ἂν εἴη αὐτοῖς, ὄρω. ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος πάντα ταῦτα ὅτι εἴη ἂν καὶ ἄλλα γε μυρία, εἰ γένοιτο ἡ πολιτεία αὕτη, μηκέτι πλείω περὶ αὐτῆς λέγε, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἤδη πειρώμεθα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πείθειν, ὡς δυνατόν καὶ ἡ δυνατόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαίρειν ἔωμεν.

Plat. Rep. v. 471.

Of about forty substantives and adjectives in this passage only three seem to be words of non-Indo-European origin, if we except the stem *-μαχ-* in the adjective *ἄμαχοι*, the etymology of which is obscure. The three are once again φίλος, ἔχθρος and γῆ. The passage contains thirty-two verbal forms. None of these can be regarded with certainty as not of Indo-European origin, though we may suspect that the stem *οἶσω*, used as a future to φέρω, and μάχομαι may be of foreign origin. The etymology of ἔαν 'to allow' is also difficult to determine.

Thus it is seen that in five passages selected at random from authors ranging from Homer to Plato a proportion of words varying from about one in thirteen to about one in seven is found to be not of Indo-European origin. In the case of the verbs especially the minority is composed of the identical words or some of them in two or three of the passages, a fact that illustrates the frequency with which these verbs are employed. The proportion both of nouns and verbs is larger in Homer and Herodotus than in Aeschylus and Plato. Only one noun may be said to be of a poetical nature, the word κνέφος 'darkness'. Apart from this we find the following to be probably borrowed from the languages of pre-Hellenic civilisations in Asia Minor or elsewhere: a religious emblem such as αἰγίς, a common weapon τόξον, a common stem expressing the sound of animals or men, φθέγγομαι, φθογγή; most common of all the names of the sea and land, θάλασσα and γῆ; human relationships such as φίλος and ἐχθρός; a common human attribute, νοῦς; the ordinary word for monarch, βασιλεύς, and its derivatives, and another magisterial word, πρύτανις; the frequent ὄρκος in which we may suspect a primitive meaning connected with religious sanctity; the word ὀβελός meaning both 'spit' and 'obelisk'. We may suspect the first meaning to have been the later, and the meaning of 'spit' to have arisen from the resemblance of the objects. In addition there is λίθος, the material from which the obelisk is made. In the realm of the abstract we have χρόνος; and finally the adjective ἐπτάσθαλος.

These examples cover a wide range, and provide useful illustrations of the extent to which Aegaeon civilisations penetrated Greek life. Thus the Greek language tends to confirm evidence obtained from other sources that points to the fact that the Greeks borrowed much of their religion and particularly their ideas of government from older civilisations, that they came down from lands remote from the sea, and that to some extent they absorbed the peoples in whose territory they settled. Greek is a language predominantly Indo-European, which yet shows clear traces of the impact of ancient cultures upon the Greek mind and manner of life.

Chapter II

PHONETICS. ACCENT

The Indo-European phonetic system contained six vowels in all, five of which were employed both long and short. These vowels were the following: *a*, *ā*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē* and the neutral or schwa, written *ə* and pronounced as the second vowel in the English word *father*. An alphabet is at best a clumsy representation of sound, and when we write *a* we convey a sound that has a wide range that varies not only between dialect and dialect in a given language but also to a certain extent between speaker and speaker. Thus in a language of the past it is impossible to ascertain with precision the pronunciation of a given sound, and if it were possible to do so it would be impossible to represent the various nuances in writing. The range of sound covered by a single letter of the alphabet is well illustrated by the attempts of a foreigner to speak a language not his own. Moreover sounds are constantly in flux throughout the history of a given language. Vocalic change is a strong feature of English. The letter *a* represented originally in all cases a sound similar to that which it still represents in the word *father*. The vowel in the course of history has under most conditions changed and advanced upwards and forwards so that it has taken the place of the vowel once represented by the letter *e*. The words *bake*, *shade* for example would be more reasonably spelt to the mind of a Frenchman as *bek*, *shed*, and might be so represented phonetically. As will be seen later, a change similar to this very change in English took place in the Ionic dialect of Greek. We can therefore arrive only approximately at the pronunciation of a given sound when dealing with the various stages of the development of the Greek language.

The existence of the original Indo-European sounds can only be deduced by a comparison of the various languages

that compose the family, and the treatment given by the separate languages to these original sounds constitutes the phenomena that differentiated each first into a dialect within the Indo-European parent language and later into a separate tongue.

I.-E. *a* remained in Greek throughout. Examples are ἄγω, with which compare Old Icelandic (a Germanic language) *aka*, Skt. *djāmi*, Lat. *ago*; ἄγρός, with which compare Eng. *acre*, Skt. *djras*, Lat. *ager*; ἄπό, compare Goth. *af*, Skt. *dpa*, Lat. *ab*; δάκρυ, compare Lat. *dacruma*, *lacruma*. The pronunciation of this sound was open and has remained apparently unchanged throughout the whole history of the language till the present day.

I.-E. *ā* remained unchanged in Greek except in the Ionic and Attic dialects. Examples are Dor. μήτηρ, cf. Eng. *mother*, Skt. *mātr-* 'mother', Lat. *māter*; Dor. ἄδύς, cf. Eng. *sweet*, Skt. *svādūh*, Lat. *suāvis*, Gal. *Svadu-rix*, a proper name; Dor. φῶμι 'I say', cf. Lat. *fāma*, *fāri*. In the Ionic-Attic dialect *ā* passed, except in Attic when following ε, ι, or ρ, into open *ē*, a sound that in classical Attic was probably pronounced in a manner resembling the vowel in Eng. *fair*. When in the fourth century B.C. and later the Attic dialect became the common dialect of Greece, original *ā* was represented in most positions by *ē*, and in the succeeding centuries the sound became closer and closer until in the second century A.D. or subsequently it developed into *ī*, where it stands in modern Greek.

I.-E. *o* remained unchanged in Greek. Examples are δέδορκε, cf. Skt. *dadārca* (the Aryan languages changed original *o* into *a*, as also did the Germanic languages and Albanian); δόμος, cf. Eng. *tame*, Lat. *domus*; Dor. φέροντι, cf. Goth. *bairand*, Skt. *bhāranti*, Lat. *ferunt*. In all dialects *o* seems to have been a close sound, that is to say, its pronunciation was nearer to that of *u* than it was to that of *a*.

I.-E. *ō* remained in Greek and was generally represented by ω. Examples are Dor. πῶς 'foot', cf. Eng. *foot*, Skt. *pāt* 'foot'; γινώσκω, cf. Eng. *know*, Skt. *jānāti*, Lat. *nōsco*; θωμός, cf. Goth. *dōms*. This original *ō* was in Greek an open

sound, that is to say, it tended in the direction of *a* and not of *u*. A close *o*, not derived by descent from the parent language, developed within Greek itself mostly from the contraction of *ō* with itself or another vowel. This sound was distinguished from original open *ō* and written in early inscriptions with *ο* (omicron) and later with *ου*. In modern Greek both *ō* and *ō* are close and have become identical in quantity owing to changes in the accent system. The distinction of sound is well illustrated in the following words in an (Ionic) inscription from Halicarnassus dating from the middle of the fifth century B.C.:

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΩ ΧΡΟΝΟ ΤΩΝ ΟΚΤΩΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ ΜΗΝΩΝ.

Here the true diphthong is represented by *ου*, the secondary close *ō* of the genitive singular termination by *ο*, and the original open *ō* by *ω*.

I.-E. *u* remained in Greek. Examples are: *ζυγόν*, cf. Eng. *yoke*, Skt. *yugám*, Lat. *iugum*; *κλυτός*, cf. Eng. *loud* (older *hlūd*), Skt. *ḥrutáh*, Lat. *in-clutus*; *ὑπνος*, cf. Skt. *suptás* 'asleep'. In most dialects this sound remained unchanged, resembling that in Eng. *book*, but in Attic and Ionic about the fifth century B.C. it became rounded and moved forward becoming the sound represented by French *u* or German *ü*. In modern Greek it has coalesced with *i*, *ει* and *η*.

I.-E. *ū* followed *ũ*, passing through identical changes and probably early coalescing with it. Examples are the following: *θυμός*, cf. Skt. *dhūmáh*, Lat. *fūmus*; *μῦς*, cf. Eng. *mouse*, Skt. *mūs*-, Lat. *mūs*; *νῦν*, cf. Eng. *now*, Skt. *nú*, Lat. *nunc*.

I.-E. *i* is represented in Greek in the following words: *ἵμεν* 'we shall go', cf. Skt. *imáh*; *ἵδμεν* 'we know', cf. Eng. *wit*, Skt. *vidmá*, Lat. *uideo*; *ἡθεις*, cf. Eng. *widow*, Skt. *vidhávā*, Lat. *uiduus*.

I.-E. *ī* occurs in the following: *πίνω*, cf. Skt. *pītáh*; *ἰς*, cf. Skt. *vīḍáh* 'firm', Lat. *uīs*; *κλίνω*, cf. Lat. *clīnare*. It is possible that, contrary to what is the case in our own language, Greek *ī* was a more open sound than *i*.

I.-E. *e* remained unchanged in Greek as the following examples show: *φέρω*, cf. Eng. *bear*, Skt. *bhārāmi*, Lat. *fero*;

ἔστί, cf. Eng. *is*, Skt. *dsti*, Lat. *est*; γένος, cf. Eng. *kin*, Skt. *jānah*, Lat. *genus*. Like *ō* this sound was close in the ancient dialects.

I.-E. *ē* also remained unchanged. Examples are: τίθημι, cf. Eng. *do*, Skt. *dádhati*, Lat. *fēci*; μήν, cf. Goth. *mēnōhs*, Skt. *mās-*, Lat. *mēnsis*; πίμπλημι, πλήρης, cf. Skt. *prātāh*, Lat. *plēnus*. The distinction in quality between *ē* and *ē̄* resembled that between *ō* and *ō̄*. *ē̄* was an open sound represented in the Ionic alphabet by η, while the long close *e* which developed within Greek by contraction, exactly as the long close *o* developed, was represented first by ε and later by ει. As has been already noticed, the original *ā* developed in the Ionic-Attic dialects into a sound represented by η which coalesced with original *ē̄*. Occasionally in certain Ionic dialects we find the sound derived from original *ā* represented by η and original *ē̄* by ε. This confirms the conclusion that η represented an open sound, which was probably near to the vowel sound in English *fair*. The cry of a sheep is represented as βῆ βῆ (Cratinus, 43 (K), cf. Aristophanes, fr. 642 (K) and Hesychius, βηβῆν· πρόβατον). The use of the two letters for the close and open sounds is illustrated by the following quotation from an Ionic inscription from the island of Ceos dating from the close of the fifth century B.C.:

μέ ὑποτιθέναι κύλικα ὑπὸ τῆγ [κλίν]ην μεδὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκχέειν.

In Hellenistic times *ē̄* became a close sound and in modern Greek has coalesced with ει and ι becoming a sound such as that represented in English as *ee*.

The last vowel to be considered is original schwa, *ə*. In all languages of the family except Aryan, where it is represented by *i*, this sound has coalesced with *ā*. Examples of its occurrence in Greek are: πατήρ, cf. Skt. *pitar-*; στατός, cf. Goth. *stafs* 'place', Skt. *sthītāh*, Lat. *status*; δῶνος 'gift', cf. Skt. *ādāta*, Lat. *datus*.

It will be seen that in ancient Greek the Indo-European vowel system was well preserved. In this Greek ranges itself generally speaking with Italic and Celtic. The Aryan languages confused the three vowels *a*, *o* and *e*, reducing them

all to *a*. The Germanic, Baltic and Albanian languages, and Armenian partially, changed *ō* to *ā*, the Slavonic, Italic and Celtic preserving it. In its rounding of the *u*-sound—a phenomenon confined however to certain dialects only—Greek finds an echo in its near neighbour Albanian, which treats *ū* in this way, carrying the movement in some cases farther until the sound becomes *i*. A peculiarity of Greek was probably the open sound of *ō* and *ē*, and we may guess that this was due to Asianic or Minoan influence. But it is well to remember that we have no early records of the northern Indo-European languages, and that we are in a favourable position for ascertaining dialect differences in Greek. Such openness may have been a feature of these vowels in other languages or dialects at an early stage. The Greek vocalic system escaped the influences exerted upon the vowels in the Italic languages by the force of a strong stress accent, the absence of this being without doubt one of the chief factors in its preservation.

Besides the simple vowels *diphthongs* were a feature of the Indo-European system. These were eight in number and were both short and long. The two high front vowels (*i* and *u*) combined with the remaining three vowels and with the schwa. These diphthongs also were well preserved in Greek, as the following examples will show. I.-E. *au*: αὐξάνω, cf. Goth. *auka* 'increase', Skt. *ōjas-* 'strength', Lat. *augeo*; αῖος 'dry', cf. Eng. *sere*, Lith. *sausas* 'withered', Skt. *ṣaṣas* 'drought'; καυλός, cf. Lat. *caulis*. At no time in the history of the language did this diphthong become a single vowel. Its second element maintained its original sound (resembling English *oo*) and did not become rounded as did the single vowel. In Byzantine times the second element developed into a labial spirant (resembling English *v*) and in modern Greek is represented by this sound whether voiced (*v*) or unvoiced (*f*).¹ The diphthongal pronunciation was still current in the fourth century A.D.

I.-E. *ou* was represented in Greek by *ou*. Examples are:

¹ E.g. αἴψος = αὐτός.

ἐλήλουθε, 3rd pers. sing. perfect indicative from the stem of ἐλεύσομαι; σπουδή, cf. Lith. *spāusti* 'to press'; λοῦσον, cf. Old High German *lougazzu*. This sound early lost its character as a diphthong and in early times became a close \bar{o} , developing later into \bar{u} . We have already seen that the letters *ou* were used in Attic and other dialects to represent a close \bar{o} developing within Greek itself in contradistinction to original \bar{o} which was open and represented by ω .

I.-E. *eu* remained unchanged in Greek. The following are examples: πεύθομαι, cf. Eng. *bid*, Skt. *bódhati* 'awake'; ἐρεῦθω, cf. Eng. *red*, Skt. *ródhati* 'red', Lat. *rōbus*; χεῦμα, cf. Goth. *giutan* 'throw', Skt. *juhóti* 'sacrifice', Lat. *fundo*. The pronunciation of this diphthong followed closely that of *au*. The second element did not become rounded and in Byzantine times developed into a labial spirant (*f* or *v*).

I.-E. *au* had in pre-Greek times coalesced with *au*. Examples are: χεῦνος, cf. O.H.G. *caumun*; σταυρός 'stake', cf. Eng. *stow*, Lat. *re-staurare*; ταῦρος, cf. Eng. *steer*, Lat. *taurus*.

Besides diphthongs whose second element was *u* the parent language contained a corresponding set whose second element was *i*. These also were for the most part unaltered in ancient Greek.

Examples of I.-E. *ai* may be seen in Gk. αἶθω, cf. Skt. *édhah* 'wood for burning', Lat. *aedes*; λαῖός, cf. Lat. *laevis*; κακίος 'north-east wind', cf. Goth. *haihs*, Skt. *kekarah*, Lat. *caecus* 'blind'. This sound remained a diphthong in Attic Greek until the second century A.D., by which time it had developed into a close ϵ equivalent to the sound represented by ϵ . In Boeotian this change took place between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C.

I.-E. *oi* also remained unchanged in Greek, as is illustrated by the following examples: οἶδα, cf. Eng. *wit*, Skt. *véda*; οἶκος, cf. Goth. *weihs* 'village', Skt. *vegáḥ*, Lat. *vicus*; τοί, cf. Eng. *they*. The course of pronunciation of this diphthong closely followed that of *ai*. In the Boeotian dialect it changed to \bar{u} in the third century B.C. and later, but remained a diphthong in Attic till the third century A.D. From then

onwards it coalesced with original *u*, being pronounced like German *ü* and subsequently passing into *i*.

I.-E. *ei* remained in Greek. Examples are: εἶσι 'he will go', cf. Skt. *éti*, Lat. *it*; χεῖμα, cf. Skt. *héman* 'in winter'; πείθω, cf. Lat. *fido*. The diphthong had passed into a simple close *ē*, at least in the Attic dialect, by the fifth century B.C., when the letters *ει* came to represent the close *ē* arising from contraction or otherwise and differentiated from original *ē* (with which in Ionic-Attic original *ā* had become identified), which was an open sound. By the third century B.C. this sound had become closer and had become identical with *ī*, and this pronunciation has remained constant till the present day.

Examples in Greek of I.-E. *ai* are: αἰς, cf. Skt. *dāyate* 'share'; γλαῖνοι, a gloss of Hesychius interpreted as τὰ λαμπρόσματα, cf. O.H.G. *kleini* 'bright'. This diphthong was identical in Greek with that derived from original *ai*.

The parent language employed also corresponding long diphthongs *āu*, *ōu*, *ēu*, *āi*, *ōi*, *ēi*, and these were represented in Greek as follows: I.-E. *āu* appears as *au*, illustrated in the word ναῦς 'ship', cf. A.-S. *nōwend*, Skt. *nāuḥ* 'ship', Lat. *nāuis*; αὔρη, cf. Avestan *hāu* 'the'; Homeric ἠώς 'dawn' (for older *āusōs*), cf. Eng. *east*, Skt. *uṣḍh* 'dawn', Lat. *aurora*.

I.-E. *ōu* appears as *ou*, seen in βοῦς, cf. Eng. *cow*, Skt. *gāūh* 'ox', Lat. *bōs*; δοῦλος 'slave', cf. Eng. *tool*.

I.-E. *ēu* is seen in the following examples: στεῦμαι 'stand upright', cf. Eng. *steer* (ox); νεῦρον, cf. Avestan *snāvar-* 'band'; Ζεύς, cf. Eng. *Tues-day*, Skt. *Dyāuḥ*, Lat. *Jū-piter*.

I.-E. *āi* appears in αἰών, cf. Goth. *aiws*, Skt. *āyuh* 'life', Lat. *aeuum*; and in the dative singular of *a-* stems: χώρ-αι, cf. Goth. *gib-ai*, Lat. *equ-ae*.

I.-E. *ōi* appears in the dative singular of *o-* stems: ἵππ-ω, cf. Skt. *tāsm-āi*, Old Lat. *Numasioi*.

I.-E. *ēi* appears in the *s-* aorist: ἔλ-ει-πα, cf. Skt. *ār-āi-kṣam*. The long diphthongs coalesced with the short diphthongs in prehistoric times. The treatment of the diphthongs brings Greek again rather nearer to the Italic group than to any other of the Indo-European languages.

The parent language employed two sounds designated as semi-vowels and usually represented as *u* and *i*. They resembled the sounds of English *w* and *y*. Each underwent varied treatment in the various languages in accordance with their position in the syllable or word, but in all cases they were treated as consonants. Original *u* was represented in Greek by *φ*. The sound disappeared early in the Ionic-Attic, but remained in certain other dialects at least till the fourth century B.C., as inscriptions make clear. Examples of stems in which it occurs are as follows, first of all when initial: ὄχεσ- 'wagon', cf. Eng. *wain*, Skt. *vāhāmi*, Lat. *ueho*; ἔφος, Cyprian *ῑέφος*, cf. O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'mention', Skt. *vācah* 'word', Lat. *uōx*; ῥήτρα, Elean *ῥάτρα*, cf. Goth. *wrōhs* 'accusation', Skt. *vratām* 'order'. The digamma also disappeared when between two vowels, as the following examples show: κλέφος, which in an inscription from Crissa appears as κλέφος, Skt. *śrāvāh* 'glory', Lat. *cluor*; ῥόος, Cyprian *ῥόος*, cf. Eng. *stream*, Skt. *śrāvāh*. In the parent language this sound was sometimes combined with another consonant, and in most cases it disappeared in Greek in this position also. When however it was combined with original *t* the combination produced *s* or *ss* in Greek. Examples of this combination are σάκος for older **τφακος*, as is shown by the Sanskrit cognate *tvák* 'skin', and σείω, cf. Lith. *twiskėti*, used of the action of a flame, and Skt. *twisāti* 'be violently agitated'. The original combination *ku* produced *pp* in Greek, as appears in the words¹ ἱππος, cf. A.-S. *eoh*, Skt. *āgva-h*, Lat. *equus*; Dor. πάσασθαι, cf. Skt. *gṛā-trās*.

In the phenomenon of the early elimination of this sound Greek stood alone among the Indo-European languages. Other languages sooner or later changed it to a labial spirant resembling English *v* (rather than *w*), but all preserved it, and many employ it to-day in direct descent from the parent language without change. It is not possible to assign any reason for its disappearance in Greek, but we may conjecture that it was a sound unknown to the languages of the majority

¹ The connection of ἱππος with Lat. *equus*, etc., is often disputed however.

of those pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Greek home whose descendants adopted Greek as their tongue when coalescing with Indo-European migrants. It is noticeable that it disappeared in the Ionic-Attic dialects earlier than in any other, a fact that confirms the suggestion made in the first chapter that Ionic-Attic may represent the oldest stratum of Greek. In Cyprian and other dialects a digamma sometimes appears between two vowels (for example, *δυσάνοι*, *κατεσκεύασε*, *πτόλιφι*), where it did not originally belong, but represents a gliding sound easing the passage between the two vowels. This sound is an interloper and is quite distinct from original *y* and probably from the *f* descended from it. The original sound may thus be said to have disappeared throughout the whole Greek-speaking area. The disappearance may be connected with the rounding of the vowel *u*, the language disliking these kindred sounds.

The second semi-vowel in use in the parent language resembled in sound English *y* and is usually represented by the symbol *j*. When initial this sound was reduced to a rough breathing (a faint English *h*) and when between vowels it disappeared altogether. Examples are: *ἦπαρ*, cf. Skt. *yákr̥t*, Lat. *iecur*; *ὅς*, cf. Goth. *jabai* 'if', Skt. *yáḥ* 'who'; *τρεῖς*, cf. Skt. *tráyah*, Lat. *trēs*; *δέος* 'fear' for older **δφεῖος*. When originally combined with a digamma, nasal or liquid (except *l*) preceded by *α* or *ο* the sound disappeared as a consonant, while the preceding vowel became a diphthong. Thus **αφια* gives *αῖα*, **φανιω* gives *φαίνω*, **-βοφιος* gives *-βοιος*, **μορια* gives *μοῖρα*. When the preceding vowel is *ε*, *ι* or *υ* the consonantal *j* disappears, lengthening the preceding vowel in Attic but doubling the consonant in Lesbian. Thus **κτενιω* gives Attic *κτείνω*, Lesbian *κτέννω*; **φθεριω* gives Attic *φθεῖρω*, Lesbian *φθέρρω*; **κλινιω* gives Attic *κλίνω*, Lesbian *κλίννω*; **ὄτρυνω* gives Attic *ὄτρύνω*, Lesbian *ὄτρύννω*. The combination *mj* became *nj* in very early times. Thus **βαμ-ιω* gave first **βανιω* and then *βαίνω*. Original *lj* became *ll*. Examples are: *ἄλλος*, cf. Goth. *aljis* 'another', Lat. *alius*; *κάλλος*, cf. Skt. *kalyah* 'healthy'. When *j* followed a velar or palatal a sibilant developed from the combination (*s* or *z*).

Original *pi* became in Greek *πi*, as it appears in *πiτω* 'to spit', cf. Eng. *spue*, Lith. *spiduju*, Lat. *spuo*, where the Lithuanian form shows the existence of the original *i*. As in the case of the digamma this sound is found in certain dialects, notably in Cyprian, as a glide between the vowel *i* and a following vowel. In the Cyprian syllabary it is represented by a separate symbol which proves that it existed as a separate and recognised sound. In some cases this glide following the vowel *i* seems to be descended directly from the parent Indo-European. The sound did not totally disappear as did the parallel semi-vowel *y*. It was much weakened, but, as has been shown, when occurring in combination in the middle of a word was strong enough, for some time at least, to effect considerable vocalic and consonantal changes. Its weakening may be due to the fact of its non-employment in pre-Hellenic languages, if such were a fact, while a parallel to its total elimination being arrested may well be the retention of the vowel *i* both long and short as a feature of the Greek vocalic system, whereas *u* weakened and changed. Thus in its treatment of the original semi-vowels, especially of original *y*, Greek stands on the whole aloof, asserting an independence that points to the influence of a strong destructive force of unknown origin brought to bear upon these sounds, in contrast to the vowels upon which such an influence is not apparent.

Sounds in the parent language of a somewhat similar nature to the two semi-vowels were those known as the sonant nasals and sonant liquids. These are represented as *ɣ*, *ŋ*, *ɲ*, *ɱ*, *r*, *l*, the first two being a velar nasal (Eng. *ng*) and palatal nasal respectively. The sounds answer closely to the corresponding consonants, but are slightly prolonged and pronounced as a syllable. Sonant nasals occur frequently in English, though they are not represented alphabetically as such. The final sound of the word *eaten*, and of all similar past participles, is a sonant nasal, and the popular accusative of the third person plural personal pronoun (*'em*) is another example. Proper names ending in *-ham* show the same sound. These sounds, as they existed in the original Indo-European system,

may be equally well regarded as a combination of the schwa with the consonantal nasals (e.g. *ən, em*). The velar and palatal nasals are of infrequent occurrence and we may disregard them. When final, or preceding a consonant, Greek reduced the sonant nasals to *a*. Examples are: αὐτό-ματος, cf. Goth. *munda-*, Skt. *matás*, Lat. *com-mentus*; τᾱτός, cf. Skt. *tatdḥ*, Lat. *tentus*; the negative prefix α-, cf. Eng. *un-*, Skt. *a-*, Lat. *in-*; ἑκατόν, cf. Eng. *hund-red*, Lith. *szim̃tas*, Skt. *gātam*, Lat. *centum*; βᾱτός, cf. Goth. *ga-quinþs*, Skt. *gātás*, Lat. *in-uentus*; ἄπαξ, cf. Skt. *sakṣt* 'once', Lat. *simplex*. This sound in Greek was of course identical with that given by original *a*. When the sonant nasals preceded a vowel Greek represented them by *αν-*, *αμ-*. This is seen in Boeotian βανά 'woman', cf. Old Icelandic *kona*, Arm. *kanaiik*; μανῆνοι, cf. Goth. *munaiþ*; ἀμῶς, cf. Goth. *sums*, Skt. *samas*; ταμείν, cf. Slav. *tъnъ*. In its treatment of these sounds Greek is exactly parallel with the Aryan languages, which reduce the sonant nasals when preceding a consonant to a vowel. All other languages except the Slavonic and Albanian represent them by a vowel followed by a consonantal nasal. The Slavonic languages employ a nasalised vowel and Albanian reduces them to *e*. In the sense that both reduce them under certain conditions to a vowel their treatment in Greek resembles their treatment in Albanian.

The sonant liquids appeared in Greek sometimes as *αρ*, *αλ*, sometimes as *ρα*, *λα*. Examples will make this clear. With δρᾱκεῖν 'to see' compare A.-S. *torht* 'bright', Skt. *dṛṣtas* 'seen'; κράτος, cf. Eng. *hard*; βαρύς, cf. Goth. *kairus* 'heavy', Skt. *gurūh* 'heavy', Lat. *gravis*; πάρος, cf. Eng. *for*, Skt. *purāh*, Lat. *por-*; μαλ-θακός, cf. Eng. *mild*, Skt. *mṛdūh*, Lat. *mollis*; βλαβῆ, cf. Skt. *mṛktāh* 'wounded'; καλιά 'hut', cf. Eng. *hell*, Lat. *oc-culo*; ἄλλεσθαι 'to leap', cf. Skt. *sulati*, Lat. *salio*.

The treatment of the consonantal nasals (*m*, *n*) is simple in Greek. Indeed these sounds remained unchanged under most conditions in all the languages of the family. Examples are as follows: νέος, cf. Eng. *new*, Skt. *nāvaḥ*, Lat. *novus*; ἔνη, cf. Goth. *sinista*, Skt. *sanaḥ*, Lat. *senex*; μήτηρ, cf. Eng. *mother*,

Skt. *mātar-*, Lat. *māter*; γόμφος, cf. Eng. *comb*, Skt. *jāmbhah* 'tooth'. Final *m* in Greek became *n*, as is seen for example in the accusative singular termination of vowel stems: τόν, cf. Skt. *tām*; or in the genitive plural termination: λόγων, cf. Skt. *devām*, Lat. *deum*. When a nasal was followed by a liquid, the corresponding stop was inserted between it and the liquid. When initial the nasal then disappeared. Thus we find βροτός, for older *μοτος, cf. Lat. *mors*. Hesychius has a gloss: μορτός · ἀνθρωπος θνητός, which shows that a form with the nasal was in use; βλώσσω, μέβλωκα, for older *μλ-, cf. μολεῖν; ἀνδρός with inserted δ as the genitive of ἀνής.

The pronunciation of the nasals in Greek was no doubt closely similar to their pronunciation in English, but there are indications that they were weak sounds rather than strong. They assimilated regularly to a following consonant whether the combination took place in the interior of a word or from the final of one word to the initial of another. The Greeks pronounced τήμ πόλιν, τὸλ λόγον, συλλαβόντα, ἐμβαίνω (for ἐν-). In the case of the first two and similar examples both spellings are found upon inscriptions, though manuscripts retained the spelling that was etymologically correct.

The original consonantal liquids remained unchanged in Greek. Examples are: ἐρυθρός, cf. Eng. *red*, Skt. *rudhirdh* 'red', Lat. *ruber*; ὀρέγω, ὀρεκτός, cf. Eng. *right*, Old Iranian *rašta-*, Lat. *rectus*; ὑπέρ, cf. Eng. *over*, Skt. *updri*, Lat. *super*; λείπω, cf. Eng. *leave*, Skt. *ripākti*, Lat. *linquo*; λέγω, cf. Lat. *lego*; λείχω, cf. Eng. *lick*, Skt. *lihati*, Lat. *lingo*. The use of the rough breathing with ρ in several positions shows that it was a voiceless or whispered sound in contradistinction to the Latin *r*. The Romans inserted *h* following *r* in words borrowed from Greek, confirming the deduction that the Greek *r* was pronounced differently from their own. There is insufficient evidence to make clear how *l* was pronounced except that in the Cretan dialect it was a velar *l* pronounced far back in the mouth. This is made clear by the spelling with *u*, upon inscriptions, of words in which *l* is expected,

showing that the sound of this *l* approached that of normal *u*. The spelling was not consistent, which seems to prove that the sound had not developed into *u*, but remained, while distinct, a sound sufficiently similar to be confused with it in spelling. Some of the examples given above illustrate the growth of a vowel before initial *r* (as in ἔρυσθρός, ὀρέγω, etc.). This occurred also in the case of *l*, as appears for instance in ἑλαφρός, ἑλαχύς. Its origin is unexplained. A similar phenomenon occasionally took place in Armenian. At a certain time in the history of the language the Greeks seemed to feel the need of a vowel upon which to rest the liquids or possibly to act as a glide between the final consonant of the preceding word and the liquid. Possibly in early times the liquid was prolonged in pronunciation, the *r* perhaps being rolled or trilled at length, and the early portion of the sound became broken and developed as a vowel. It may be that certain autochthonous people found the liquids difficult to assimilate, or had been accustomed in their pre-Greek language to rest them upon a vowel.

One of the most important sets of sounds in the Indo-European system is that known as the stops. They are so named from the slight explosion or complete momentary cessation of sound that takes place at the final stage of their articulation. In the original system they were fifteen in number with certain additions. According to the place of their articulation in the mouth, passing from back to front, they are named as follows: labio-velar, velar, palatal, dental and labial. Each of these five stops had three modifications. There were voiced aspirate stops (*dh*, *bh*, etc.), voiced stops (*d*, *b*, etc.), unvoiced stops (*t*, *p*, etc.). In addition an unvoiced aspirate such as *th* (pronounced as *t* followed by a puff of breath) was occasionally employed. The treatment of these original stops in the Greek language will now be examined, beginning with the velars at the back of the mouth and advancing towards the labials which are pronounced with the lips. First however it is necessary to make clear that the original voiced aspirates were all reduced in Greek to unvoiced aspirates, an original *bh* for instance, exemplified in Sanskrit

bhādrāmi, appearing in Greek as φ. The voiced stops remained voiced, and the unvoiced remained unvoiced, that is to say, original *d*, for example, remains *d* in Greek, and original *t* remains *t*. These facts will appear more clearly in examples as the stops are examined one by one.

We begin with the voiced aspirate labio-velar. The labio-velar was a curious compound stop that from comparative evidence is presumed to have existed in the parent language. It consisted of a velar stop (*g*, *k*) accompanied by a closing of the lips that obstructed the passage of air, and is regarded as having been pronounced somewhat like English *gw*, *qu*. It is represented as *gʰ*, *gʰ*, *qʰ*. None of the languages preserved this stop in its entirety. Some omitted the labialisation so that the stop coalesced with the simple velar (becoming in the case of the Germanic languages with the simple velar subject to Grimm's Law). Others closed the lips before, or at the point of, articulating the stop, thus turning the sound into a labial stop (*b*, *p*). In Greek the treatment was more complicated than in any other language of the family, the form of the stop differing in accordance with the vowel with which it was associated. As a general rule this stop was labialised before a back vowel *a*, *o*, while before a front vowel (*e*, *i*) it became a dental stop, and when in association with the vowel *u* remained a velar without labialisation. Examples will illustrate this.

We begin with the original voiced aspirate labio-velar (**gʰh*): θείνω 'I strike', φόνος 'murder', cf. the participle form -φάτος. Here is seen the double treatment of this sound in a single stem. In the verb it appears as a dental since it precedes a front vowel, in the noun as a labial preceding a back vowel. Its correlatives in other languages show it to be a labio-velar: cf. Eng. *gun*, Skt. *hānti* 'he kills', Lat. *de-fendo*. These examples illustrate the difficulty that the various languages appeared to find with this sound. Other examples are: θέλω, to which a companion form φαίλει exists, glossed by Hesychius, cf. Slav. *želēti* 'desire'; θερμός, cf. Skt. *gharmāh*, Thracian *germo-* 'hot', Lat. *formus*; πόθος 'desire'. This form is for an older **φοθος*, and should show

an aspirate at the beginning, but if two unvoiced aspirates appeared in the same word in proximity, as here, the Greeks deaspirated one of the two, a process known technically as dissimilation. With πόθος, to which there belongs a cognate form θέσσασθαι, we may compare Old Nordic *ged* 'passion', Lith. *gedù*; φαίδρός 'brilliant', cf. Lith. *gaidrùs* 'clear'; νίφα, cf. Eng. *snow*, Skt. *snehah* 'grease', Lat. *nix*, *niuis*; ὀσφραίνομαι, cf. Skt. *jighrati* 'smell'.

The unaspirated voiced labio-velar (original *gʷ*) underwent parallel changes in Greek. Examples are the following: βάλω, cf. Eng. *come*, Skt. *gacchati* 'go', Lat. *uenio*; βαίς, cf. Lith. *gaisztù* 'disappear'; βάλανος, cf. Lith. *gile* 'acorn', Lat. *glans*; βάλλω, cf. O.H.G. *quellan*, Skt. *galati*; βαρύς 'heavy', cf. Goth. *kairus* 'heavy', Skt. *gurùh*, Lat. *gravis*. The voiced velar in association with the vowel *u* is seen in the word γυνή 'woman', which appears in Boeotian as βωνά, cf. Eng. *queen*, Skt. *gand-*.

The unvoiced labio-velar underwent parallel changes. This is seen in the following examples: ποῦ, 'where?' with its cognate form τίς, τί 'who?' 'what?' cf. Eng. *who*, Skt. *káh* 'who', Lat. *qui*; ποιεῖν, cf. Skt. *cinóti* 'arrange'; ποινή, τίνω, cf. Lith. *kainè* 'value', Skt. *cáyate* 'avenge'; ἔπομαι, cf. A.-S. *secz* 'man', Skt. *sácate* 'follow', Lat. *sequor*; τελλόμενος, πόλος, αἰ-πόλος, βου-κόλος, cf. Eng. *wheel*, Skt. *cáрати*, Lat. *colo*.

In certain cases we find a labial where we should expect a dental before the vowel *i*. Such are βίος and its derivatives, the regular form being seen in δίσαιτα and a form in ζ (ζῆν) from older **dj*. We may compare the correlatives, Eng. *quick*, Skt. *jívatí* 'he lives', Lat. *uiuo*. Another example is βία, cf. Skt. *jyá* 'power', Lat. *uitium*. The labial occurs as a rule only before an *i* that precedes another vowel, and it is likely that the front vowel was pronounced as a semi-vowel (as English *y*) and that the labial is thus due to the following back vowel. In the Aeolic dialects the dental did not occur before front vowels, but the original sound was represented in all these cases by a labial. Thus the Lesbian for 'four' is πέσσυρες.

With regard to its treatment of the labio-velars Greek is in a class by itself among the Indo-European languages. The voiced stop was labialised in Celtic and most Italic dialects and reduced under certain circumstances to a bilabial spirant (consonantal *u*) in Latin. In other languages the labialisation disappeared and the sound coalesced with the simple velar. The unvoiced stop remained unchanged in Latin, and in the Germanic languages until its first element became subject to Grimm's Law, became labialised in certain Italic and Celtic dialects and in other languages coalesced with the simple velar. Nowhere but in Greek does the dental appear. This perhaps means that this compound sound was found exceptionally difficult by non-Hellenic peoples who adopted Greek as their language.

The treatment of the remaining original stops was simple in Greek. The velar (*gh*, *g*, *q*) remained unchanged except for the unvoicing of the aspirate. Thus an original **gh* is represented in the following: χ αίτη, cf. Avestan *gaēsa-*, Ir. *gaoisid* 'hair'; χ αν δά νω, cf. Eng. *get*, Lat. *pre-hendo*; σ τεί χ ω, cf. Goth. *staiga* 'path', Skt. *stighnoti* 'he climbs'. An original **g* is represented in the following: γ έ ρ αν ος, cf. Eng. *crane*, Lat. *grus*; γ η θ έ ω, cf. Lat. *gaudeo*; γ λ ο ι ός, cf. Eng. *cleave*, Lat. *glūs*.

An original **q* is represented in the following: κ ά γ κ αν ος 'dry', cf. Eng. *hungry*, Skt. *kaykāla-* 'skeleton'; κ α λ έ ω, cf. Eng. *low* (of a cow, from earlier *hlowan*), Lat. *clāmor*; κ ύ π τ ος, cf. Eng. *hide*, Lat. *cutis*.

Of more frequent occurrence in the parent language than the velar was the palatal stop (generally represented *gh*, *g*, *k*). The languages of the family fall into two groups in accordance with their treatment of this sound. In the western languages (Germanic, Greek, Italic and Celtic) it remained a stop and coalesced with the velar; in the eastern (Balto-Slavonic, Aryan, Armenian and Albanian) it became a spirant (resembling English *sh* or *s*). In its treatment of the palatal, which coalesced with the velar, Greek is definitely ranged with the western group of languages. Examples are as follows: firstly, the aspirate: χ αί τ ρ ω, cf. Eng. *yearn*, Skt. *hāryati* 'to

desire', Lat. *horior*; χαμέ, cf. Goth. *guma* 'man', Avestan *zam-* 'earth', Lat. *humī*; χέω, cf. Goth. *giutan*, Skt. *juhōti* 'sacrifice', Lat. *fundo*. The voiced palatal appears in the following: γέρον, cf. Skt. *járan* 'infirm'; γεύω, cf. Eng. *choose*, Skt. *juṣāte* 'enjoy', Lat. *gusto*; γένος, cf. Eng. *kin*, Skt. *jānaḥ* 'race', Lat. *genus*; ἄγιος, cf. Skt. *yājati* 'sacrifice'. The unvoiced stop is seen in the following words: κάλαμος, cf. Eng. *helm*, Lat. *culmus*; κύων, cf. Eng. *hound*, Vedic Sanskrit *ḥāvā* 'dog', Lat. *canis*; δέκκομαι, cf. A.-S. *torht*, Skt. *darṣ-* 'see'; ὀκτώ, cf. Eng. *eight*, Skt. *aṣṭā*, Lat. *octō*.

The dental and labial stops remained unchanged in Greek, except that in accordance with phonetic rule the aspirates became unvoiced. Examples of the voiced aspirate dental are as follows: θάλλω, cf. Alb. *dal* 'bud'; θυμός, cf. Goth. *dauns* 'smoke', Skt. *dhūmāḥ* 'smoke', Lat. *fūmus*; θύρα, cf. Eng. *door*, Skt. *dvārah*, Lat. *forēs*; αἶθω, cf. Eng. *oast-house*, Skt. *édhaḥ* 'wood for burning', Lat. *aedes*. The voiced dental appears in the following: δᾱήρ 'brother-in-law', cf. A.-S. *tacor*, Skt. *dēvar-*, Lat. *leuir*; διδωμι, cf. Slav. *darō*, Skt. *dādāti*, Lat. *do*; δύο, cf. Eng. *two*, Skt. *dvā*, Lat. *duo*. The unvoiced dental is seen in the following: τάλας, cf. Goth. *ḥulan*, Skt. *tulayati*, Lat. *tollo*; τρέω, cf. Eng. *throe*, Skt. *trāsati* 'tremble', Lat. *terreo*; ταῦρος, cf. Eng. *steer*, Avestan *staora-* 'cattle', Lat. *taurus*.

The voiced aspirated labial appears in Greek unvoiced according to rule. Examples are: φαγεῖν, cf. Skt. *bhājati* 'distribute'; φύω, cf. Eng. *be*, Skt. *bhāvati* 'he is', Lat. *fuī*; φέρω, cf. Eng. *bear*, Skt. *bhārami*, Lat. *fero*.

The voiced labial is seen in the following: λείβω, cf. Lat. *libo*; στέμβω, cf. Eng. *stamp*.

The unvoiced labial occurs in the following: παῖω, cf. Lat. *pauio*; πᾶλος, cf. Eng. *foal*, Lat. *pullus*; παρά, cf. Eng. *for*, Lat. *por-*; ἔρπω, cf. Skt. *sārpati* 'creep', Lat. *serpo*.

The Greek aspirated stops maintained their true character till the early centuries of the Christian era. They were articulated as stops followed by a strong puff of breath. That this was the case may be concluded from the statements of Greek grammarians, the evidence of orthography on the inscrip-

tions, and transliterations of Greek words in foreign languages and *vice versa*. By the fourth century A.D. they had become spirants, as is known from the transliterations of Greek names in the translation of the Bible into Gothic made by Bishop Ulfilas at that period. They remain spirants in modern Greek. Thus ϕ , originally representing English *p* followed by *h*, now represents *f*, θ represents English *th*, and χ Scotch *ch*. The voiced stops γ , δ , β were articulated with some strength and the unvoiced stops κ , τ , π weakly according to the statements of the Greek grammarians. This was in contradistinction to Latin where the contrary was the case, and we find occasional transliterations from one language to the other in which the voiced stop in one language is represented by the unvoiced in the other and *vice versa*. The unvoiced stops have not changed in Greek from prehistoric times till the present day, but in Byzantine times the voiced stops became spirants and remain so in modern Greek. This change was taking place about the fourth century A.D., thus probably running parallel with the change of the aspirates into spirants. There is evidence from inscriptions that in certain dialects the voiced velar at least (γ) had begun to make the change towards becoming a spirant in the third century B.C. or earlier. In modern Greek γ represents a palatal spirant or a sound resembling English *y*, δ represents English voiced *th*, β English *v*.

The parent language contained a sibilant sound, equivalent to English *s*. In Greek this sound remained in certain positions unchanged, while in others it was reduced to a rough breathing. When preceding an unvoiced stop *s* remained unchanged. Examples are seen in σκάλλω, cf. Eng. *shell*, Lith. *skalà*; σπουδή, cf. Lith. *spudinti* 'hasten'; στείχω, cf. Goth. *steigan*, Skt. *stighnoti* 'ascend'. When following *r* original *s* remained unchanged in most dialects but the combination became *rr* in Attic. Examples are: Homeric θάρσος, Attic θάρρος, cf. Skt. *dhārsati*; ἄρσῃν, ἄρρῃν, cf. Skt. *ārsati*; ὄρρος, cf. Eng. *arse*. When initial and preceding a vowel original *s* became *h*, as is seen in the following examples: ἅμα, ἅ-πας, εἰς, cf. Goth. *simle* 'once', Skt. *sá-dam* 'always', Lat. *semel*;

ἡγέομαι, cf. Goth. *sokjan*, Lat. *sāgio*; ἰκέσθαι, cf. Lith. *sėkiu* 'reach'; ὁ, cf. Goth. *sa* 'the', Skt. *sá*. When between vowels original *s* became *h* and then disappeared. This is seen in Homeric ἦα 'I was', cf. Skt. *āsam* 'I was'; νέουμαι, cf. Goth. *ga-nisan* 'to cure', Skt. *ndsate* 'associate oneself'; ἔαρ 'spring', cf. Old Norse *var* 'spring', Lat. *uer*; νύος, cf. A.-S. *snoru* 'bride', Lat. *nurus*.

At the time when original *s* had been reduced to *h* when at the beginning of a word, this *h* disappeared if the succeeding syllable began with an aspirate. Thus ἔχω is for an older *ἔχω as is seen if we compare the correlatives Goth. *sigis* 'victory', Skt. *sáhte* 'to master', Gal. *Sego-*. Similarly by a phenomenon known as metathesis we find an intervocalic aspirate transferred to the beginning of the previous syllable if that syllable is initial. Thus ἱερός is for older *iθeρός, cf. Skt. *isirdh*, and εὔω is for older *ευhω, cf. A.-S. *ysle* 'burning cinder', Skt. *śṣati* 'burn', Lat. *uro*.

Greek *s* has, so far as our evidence goes, in most dialects always been pronounced as a voiceless sibilant and remains so in modern Greek to-day. In a few dialects when intervocalic it was rhotacised (changed to *r*), which proves that it must in that position have been voiced (as English *z* or intervocalic *s*, as in the word *houses*). The rough breathing was pronounced much as English *h* until the κοινή period, during which it disappeared.

In its treatment of original *s* Greek ranges itself with the Iranian languages and with Armenian which reduce initial *s* to *h*. In certain circumstances the same phenomenon seems to have taken place in Albanian. The change must have taken place in these separate languages independently, but we may perhaps assume an underlying tendency towards the weakening of *s* when in these positions common to these three neighbouring groups of languages and dialects.

There remains but one original sound to consider. This is a spirant *j* (English *y*) whose existence is assumed from the treatment in Greek of a sound which in all other Indo-European languages had coalesced with the semi-vowel *i*. This latter was normally represented in Greek by the rough

breathing, but where other languages have *y* or its equivalent Greek sometimes has *z*. This may not be due to a difference of sound in the parent language, but to an unknown cause internal to Greek itself. Examples of this sound are as follows: ζύγον, cf. Eng. *yoke*, Skt. *yógaḥ*, Lat. *iugum*; ζέω, cf. Eng. *yeast*, Skt. *yásati* 'boil'; ζώννυμι, cf. Lith. *jūsta* 'girdle', Avestan *yāsta-* 'girded'. It will be noticed that the correlatives in other languages show a spirant indistinguishable from that which derives from the original semi-vowel *j*.

The chief elements in the Greek phonetic system have now been examined, and it would be well to summarise the results in the reverse order, beginning with Greek itself instead of with the hypothetical parent language whose sounds are inferred by comparison of the different branches of the linguistic family, and working backwards if necessary to those sounds or combination of sounds in older stages of the language that they represent.

Of the vowels *ā* represented a similar or identical sound in the parent language, and it is safe to suppose that it existed also in such non-Indo-European pre-Greek languages as contributed to the vocabulary of Greek. *ā* represented both the original *ā* and the schwa (*ə*). In addition it represented the original sonant nasals (*ŋ*, *ŋ̃*), notably in the accusative singular suffix of consonant stems. The pronunciation of this vowel was simple and easily conceivable by the analogy of modern sounds. The long open *ō* represented in the Ionic alphabet by *ω* was derived from original Indo-European *ō*, while a long close *ō*, represented either by *ο* or by the combination *ου*, arose from the combination of vowels within Greek itself or from the simplification of the original diphthong *ou*. In Hellenistic times both sounds coalesced by the gradual closure of open *ō*. This duality of sound may perhaps be regarded as due to differing elements in the composition of the language, the open *ō* deriving direct from Indo-European, the close *ō* being a sound natural to Minoan or Asianic languages. On the whole Greek has tended to articulate all its vowels close, but the supposition that this

is a tendency derived from non-Indo-European languages should be regarded as no more than a suggestion. Close short δ represented an original Indo-European δ , the sound also being no doubt common to extraneous languages and coalescing without difficulty. In most ancient Greek dialects a normal u , long and short, existed, derived from the same sound in original Indo-European, and preserved till the present day in the Tsakonian dialect in the Morea, but in early historical times this sound was changed in Ionic and Attic to one approximating to German $ü$. The spread of Attic as a κοινή made this sound general throughout the language area, and later a further change to i (English ee) took place. The change in the first place may well have arisen from the contact of the Ionic dialects with speakers of Asianic or other languages in which it was common, such speakers when adopting the Greek language importing into it this sound or a tendency to it. There is evidence that this sound existed in Lydian and possibly also in the Phrygian dialects. The vowel i both long and short represented its equivalent in the older Indo-European. In the case of \bar{e} a somewhat similar phenomenon occurred as took place in that of \bar{o} . Original \bar{e} was in Greek an open sound, generally represented by η , at least more open than the long \bar{e} derived from contraction or from original ei , which was represented by ϵ or ϵi . In the Ionic and Attic dialects there also existed an open \bar{e} (that heard in English *men* or *man*) derived from original \bar{a} . There is some evidence that such a vowel existed in certain of the languages of Asia Minor, the Lydian alphabet for example containing a symbol that probably represents it. We may suppose that the Ionic dialects may have been the first to come in contact with such languages and to have absorbed certain of their speakers.

The two liquids (ρ , λ) represented original similar liquids in the parent language, and when in combination with the vowel α or original sonant liquids. When the liquids were originally initial there was a tendency to the development of a prothetic vowel before them, the reason being possibly that speakers of non-Indo-European languages who adopted

Greek speech found a difficulty in handling the liquids without support. The common mode of expressing sounds in writing in the island of Cyprus down into historical times was by a syllabary, each symbol representing a vowel and consonant together. This syllabary was used to express the Greek language but may be presumed to have been in use long before Greek was known in the island and invented to correspond to the needs of a language in which each consonant was immediately followed by a vowel. Those who were formerly speakers of such a language might naturally develop a vowel before an initial liquid, although there is no trace of such having taken place before a nasal or a stop. The Greek ρ was an unvoiced sound, represented with a rough breathing as its accompaniment. In this respect it differed from the Latin r and that of most other Indo-European languages.

The nasals (ν , μ) represented original similar sounds in the parent language.

Of the nine stops χ represented an original voiced aspirate labio-velar, velar or palatal, the last two of which ran together in the western languages. It was pronounced as a true unvoiced aspirate velar till in Roman times it passed into a spirant similar to German *ch*. θ represented an original voiced aspirate dental, and also a voiced aspirate labio-velar when before the vowels ϵ or ι , as for example in $\theta\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$. It was pronounced as a true aspirate but passed into an unvoiced dental spirant. ϕ represented an original voiced aspirate labial ($\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$) and also a voiced aspirate labio-velar when before the vowels α and o or ω ($\phi\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$). From a true aspirate it also became a spirant (resembling English *f*). Of the voiced stops γ derived from an original voiced velar or palatal, and in certain positions in some dialects from a voiced labio-velar. δ likewise derived from a voiced dental or voiced labio-velar before ϵ and ι , as in $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ in certain dialects for $\beta\acute{o}\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. β derived from an original voiced labial, but far more frequently from a voiced labio-velar when before the vowels o , ω and α . κ represents an original unvoiced velar or palatal and if associated with the vowel u sometimes

a labio-velar (λύκος). τ represents an original unvoiced dental or an unvoiced labio-velar before the vowels ε or ι (τίνω). π represents an original unvoiced labial or a labio-velar before the vowels α and ο or ω. The sound when doubled (ππ), possibly in the word ἥππος, or in the Boeotian form ππᾶματα, derives from an older unvoiced palatal stop followed by the semi-vowel γ. In the case of an original double-aspirate root (e.g. **bheidh-*) Greek dissimilates the former aspirate after having unvoiced both. Thus πείθω (cf. Lat. *fido*) derives from an older *φείθ- and this from a still older **bheidh-*. In this and similar instances π represents an original *bh*. The same holds good of τ (e.g. τύφω from older *θυφ-, from older **dhubh-*). We have already noticed the degrees of articulation occurring in the three sets of stops, the unvoiced being weak, the voiced stronger, and the aspirates very strong.

In addition to the stops and nasals the following sounds were employed: the rough breathing, sigma, zeta and the double consonants. The rough breathing, a weak aspirate which early disappeared in the Ionic and Lesbian dialects and in Roman times throughout the language, occurred normally only at the beginning of a word, and represented an original sibilant (*s*) or an original semi-vowel *ʃ* (English *y*).

In this reducing of original *s* to an aspirate Greek was in agreement with certain Thraco-Phrygian dialects and with Iranian, and a somewhat similar phenomenon occurred, though not initially, under certain circumstances in Sanskrit. We may perhaps postulate a tendency in the south-eastern Indo-European dialects to weaken an initial *s*. The reduction of the semi-vowel *ʃ* is peculiar to Greek and cannot be compared with any phenomenon in other Indo-European languages. Certain stems which in no other language are differentiated from those that show a semi-vowel or its representative appear in Greek with ζ. This has caused most scholars to postulate a separate sound, a spirant, in the original language which in all languages but Greek ran together with the semi-vowel. This is the natural explanation of the phenomenon. On the other hand it is possible that we

may be faced with a dual representation in Greek of the same original sound due to phonetic confusion brought about by unfamiliarity of the sound to those who had previously spoken languages in which it did not exist. Such a phonetic confusion appears to exist in Albanian in the representation of an original initial *s*. The transformation of the semi-vowel *ʃ* to a rough breathing or to a sibilant similar to *s* is easy to understand if it is pronounced forward in the mouth and high. Neither is it a far cry from such a sound to a spirant such as *ʒ* (French *j*) and this is a sound that may well have been heard in certain words which show an initial *ʒ* (such as *ζύγον*).

Although original initial *s* when before a vowel, and original intervocalic *s*, disappeared, the sound was not finally lost to the language. It reappeared as the result of the combination and contraction of certain original sounds. Initially an original *ts* resulted in *σ*, as in *σειρά*, *σείω*, *σάρξ*, as did also an original *sm*, as in *σέλας*, *σελήνη*. A velar or palatal followed by *ʃ* when initial gave the same result. *t* when followed by the vowels *i* and *u* was in some circumstances replaced by *s*, as is seen in the third person singular termination of the present indicative of verbs in *-μι* (e.g. *τίθησι*) and possibly in the nominative singular of the second singular personal pronoun *σύ*. In these cases the history of the sound must have been somewhat as follows: *t* > *tʃ* > *ʃ* > *s*. It may be that in classical times, or at any rate as early as Homeric times, sigma represented more than one sound, the *t* before the front vowel not having developed into the full sibilant. In Hellenistic times it was uniform in pronunciation.¹

Corresponding to the unvoiced sibilant *s* Greek employed a voiced sibilant represented by *ʒ*, employed it, that is to say, in Hellenistic times. Hellenistic *ʒ* was pronounced uniformly, probably as English *z*, possibly as *ʒ* (a voiced sound corresponding to English *s* in *pleasure*). This Hellenistic sound

¹ In certain cases an Ionic *-σσ-* was represented in Attic by *-ττ-*. We may suspect that a palatal such as the sound of English *ch* lay behind these sounds, but we cannot be certain of the phonetic development.

however was the derivative of more than one compound sound in classical and Homeric times which had coalesced. The Greek grammarians represent ζ as a double sound, but there is disagreement as to the exact nature of its articulation. The truth must be that the alphabetic symbol ζ did duty for more than one similar double sound, as is the case with many of the letters of the modern English alphabet, though it was far less so in the case of the ancient languages. The sound most usually represented was probably *zd*. This was clearly the pronunciation in the case of words such as Ἀθήνηζε for *σδε. On the other hand when the sound was derived from an older combination of voiced stop and semi-vowel *i*, as in Ζεὺς (for older **dj*-), μέζων (for older **mej*-), the sound represented must have been *dz* rather than *zd*. Attempts have been made to show that this combination developed into *zd*, but although a similar combination is said to have done so in certain Bohemian dialects, this is no convincing proof of such a difficult sound development having taken place in Greek. Another class of words, already mentioned, in which ζ derived from an original spirant *γ* (similar to, if not at one time actually identical with, the semi-vowel *j*), probably showed a pronunciation corresponding to English *z* or to *ž*. In Hellenistic times these various combinations had been reduced to a voiced sibilant similar to English *z*.

There remain the double consonants ξ and ψ. These represented only a combination of the unvoiced velar and labial stops with the unvoiced sibilant (*s*), and thus no more requires to be said of them than has been said with regard to the pronunciation of the separate sounds of which they were composed.

The Greek phonetic system is thus seen to be fairly representative of that of the parent Indo-European, peculiar features being the elimination or severe weakening of the semi-vowels, the reduction of original sonant nasals to a vowel, the reduction and final elimination of prevocalic and intervocalic *s*, and a tendency, early manifest but delayed in completion, to simplify diphthongs.

An examination of the pronunciation of the vowels and

consonants in a given language leaves untouched the most important field of the phonetic system. This is the accent. From a certain point of view it may be said to constitute the basis of the system, for a foreigner may master the actual sounds of a language almost to perfection and may yet speak that language in a manner nearly unintelligible to one who regularly employs it. Languages have each a basis which we might compare to a keyboard out of which or into which a speaker has to slip as he passes from one language to another. In this sense accent includes sentence pitch, the rise and fall of the voice in the enunciation of the sentence, the distinguishing feature between a sentence intended as an interrogation and one intended as a statement. Sentence pitch differs between languages and even between dialects. All languages possess it. In addition to sentence pitch, the incidence of which in an ancient language it would be impossible to ascertain with precision, there exists the related phenomenon of word accent. This is of two kinds, stress or pitch. In the case of the former one or more syllables of a word are articulated with greater force of breath than the rest, corresponding to the loudness or softness of a musical note. Our own language provides an example of extreme stress, the most usual syllable in English on which the stress is laid being the first. A certain amount of pitch accent also comes into play in the case of most languages that employ stress, but this is small compared with the main accentual feature. Stress accent is as a rule accompanied by two effects, which are more thorough and make themselves apparent the sooner in proportion to the strength of the stress accent. The first of these is the reduction of the vowels in the unstressed syllables to a neutral shade, very often to the schwa (*ə*). This is largely the case in modern English though it is not apparent in orthography, but if attention is paid to the unstressed syllables in the majority of polysyllabic English words it will be noticed how many of them, in speech if not in writing, contain the schwa. This phenomenon was present in Latin, causing the reduction and alteration of the original vowels in many cases.

The second effect of strong stress accent, an effect not completed till the accent has been at work a long time in the language, is the elimination of unstressed syllables and the reduction of all words to monosyllables. This has been a marked effect in English, for with few exceptions true English words—those, that is to say, not borrowed from French, Latin or elsewhere during and since the Middle English period—are to-day monosyllables. Examples are *book, tree, house, yard, day, door, cow, sheep, horse*, etc.

Pitch accent substitutes for greater force of articulation a difference in musical tone incident upon one or more syllables of a given word. Naturally a certain amount of stress accompanies the pitch or may fall upon another syllable in the same word, but compared with the pitch this is negligible. Pitch accent does not reduce the syllables of polysyllabic words nor change the articulation of the vowels in the accented or unaccented syllables. In the languages of the Indo-European family there has been a general tendency to substitute stress for pitch. The accent of the ancient Greek language was a pitch accent. This fact is certain from the descriptions of the accent given by the Alexandrine grammarians, and is confirmed by the maintenance of the Indo-European vocalic system in Greek and by the fact that syllables are not reduced or mutilated in the manner that they would have been by a stress accent. The accent first began to be indicated in the spelling of words in Hellenistic times. Except when an enclitic threw back its accent on to the ultimate syllable each word had one syllable upon which high pitch fell, marked in spelling by an acute accent. The remaining syllables were understood to have the grave accent or low tone. When the accent fell upon the ultimate syllable it was written as a grave, unless the word came at the end of a phrase and was thus followed by a pause. This grave accent, standing for an acute, on an ultimate syllable, probably constituted a middle tone, noticeable in comparison with the normal low tone but not pitched so high as the acute. The fact that the pitch accent sank in intensity when falling upon the ultimate syllable perhaps shows that the more natural and easier place allowed

by the language-tendency upon which to place the high pitch was earlier in the word than at the end, while the alteration of grave to acute when the word was at the end of the phrase may be regarded as evidence that sentence pitch normally rose towards the end of a sentence. In addition to the acute was the circumflex, a combination of the acute and grave, in use only upon long syllables, and in cases of contraction of two short syllables. In syllables having an acute accent the voice rose to a high pitch during the articulation of the syllable, in those having a circumflex it rose first and then fell.

In the fact that it preserved a pitch accent Greek maintained an important feature of the parent Indo-European. Ancient features of accentual change are found by comparison to have been present in Greek. The following examples of the variation of the accent upon case suffixes make this plain: θεός, cf. Lith. *geró*; θεός, cf. Lith. *algūs*; θεοί, cf. Lith. *geré*; θεώ, cf. Lith. *gerū*; θεών, cf. Lith. *gerỹ*; θεῶ, cf. Lith. *paskui*; θεοῖς, cf. Lith. *wilkāis*. Lithuanian has preserved till the present day some of the main features of what may be presumed to have been the original Indo-European pitch accent. More might well have been preserved in Greek, were it not for the operation of a law which forbade the placing of the accent farther back than three syllables from the end of the word. The syllable bearing the acute accent might be upon the ultimate (whether long or short) (e.g. θεός, θεά), or upon the syllable preceding the ultimate if the ultimate were long or short (e.g. δώτωρ, ποικίλος), or upon the syllable preceding the last but one if the ultimate were short but not if it were long (e.g. φερόμενος). The circumflex, an accent used only upon long syllables and thus regarded as occupying the space of two time-beats, could be upon no syllable farther back in the word than the last but one. If the ultimate were long the circumflex must be upon the ultimate only (e.g. θεοῦ), if the ultimate were short it might be upon the syllable preceding the ultimate if that syllable were long (e.g. φορεῖτε). This rule altered the original accent in cases such as the following: *γένε[σ]ων (cf. Skt. *jānasām*) to γενέων; *φέρομενος (cf. Skt. *bhāramāṇas*) to φερόμενος; *ἄποτισις (cf. Skt.

ápacitís) to ἀπότισις; *ἀνεπιθετος (cf. Skt. *ánapihitas*) to ἀνεπίθετος.

In addition to the instances already given the following examples of words maintained in Greek their original accent: words such as βαρύς, cf. Skt. *gurús*; πατήρ, cf. Skt. *pítā*; γενετήρ, cf. Skt. *janitā*; δώτωρ, cf. Skt. *dātā*; φράτωρ, cf. Skt. *bhrātā*; πέρι, cf. Skt. *pāri*; πατέρες, cf. Skt. *pīdras*; ἵππος, cf. Skt. *ávas*; θύγατερ, cf. Skt. *dúhita*; ὕστερος, cf. Skt. *úttaras*; γένεος, cf. Skt. *jánasas*; φράτορες, cf. Skt. *bhrátaras*.

In addition to the changes in the original accent made necessary by the operation of the rule binding the accent to the last three syllables of the word, the most important change made by Greek was in the case of dissyllabic words whose first syllable was long and second short. The first syllable originally had an acute (e.g. *ῥίμα, cf. Lith. *sėmens*), and this Greek changed to a circumflex (ῥίμα).

Since Indo-European times there had existed certain words, known as enclitics, which threw their accent back upon the previous word. These were maintained in Greek, and threw back their accent within the limits of the law regarding the place of the accent and on the condition that no two acute accents fell upon neighbouring syllables. Thus if an enclitic threw back its accent to the ultimate syllable of a word that already had an acute accent on the syllable preceding the ultimate, the accent of the enclitic disappeared. If the accent on the syllable next to the end were a circumflex, the acute accent of the enclitic was unaffected and took its place on the ultimate syllable next to that accented with the circumflex.

The grave, or middle tone, accent on the ultimate syllable of a word was changed to a true acute when the accent of an enclitic fell upon it. The following are classes of words that were enclitics: firstly the unaccented forms of the personal pronouns and the indefinite pronoun τις. The following examples will demonstrate the throwing back of the accent by these words. These are Homeric examples:

ὅς τις σφιν ἐπὶ στίχῳ ἡγήσαιο;
ἢ μάλα δὴ σε κινάεται αἰπὺς δλεθρός.

In these cases the accent of the pronoun σφιν is thrown back upon the enclitic τις which throws back its own accent, changing the normal grave of the monosyllable ὅς to an acute; and in the second example the accent of the pronoun σε changes the grave of the preceding monosyllable δῆ to an acute. The throwing back of the accent by an enclitic pronominal form upon the final syllable of a properispomenon¹ word is illustrated in the following example:

ἔχεις τι τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ τεκμήριον Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 808.

The phrase also contains the enclitic τι whose accent does not appear owing to the fact that the first syllable of the word ἔχεις, being the syllable immediately preceding that on which the enclitic acute accent would fall, is itself acute. Finally a common example of the accent of the indefinite τις is seen in the phrase εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλοι.

From Indo-European times there was a class of particles whose use was enclitic, the most common in their Greek form being τε, γε, υν and -κι (corresponding to Skt. *cid* in words such as *πολλάκι*). Examples are frequent and will need no further explanation:

εἰ περ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσεν,
 ἔκ τε καὶ ὅψ' ἐτελεί, σὺν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν *Il.* iv. 160, 161;
 ἦν γάρ Πειθίας ἐθελοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων *Thuc.* iii. 70, 3;
 στρατιῶται τε σκάφεσι πολλοῖς αὐτῇ μετὰ κλιμάκων παρέθεον
Appian, xii. iv. 27.

In the case of nouns compounded with adverbs or other nouns the second member of the compound is enclitic in the sense that it throws its accent back upon the first member so far as the rule will allow. Examples are Διόσκουροι, Πελοπόννησος, Νεάπολις, ἄφθιτος. This merely means that the compounds were so welded in thought that they were treated in speech as a single word, the separate elements being forgotten. Such words were no longer than many which were not compounds, a fact that would assist to establish them as single words. In the same sense certain parts of the finite

¹ A word is *perispomenon* when the last syllable has the circumflex accent, and *properispomenon* when the circumflex falls on the syllable preceding the end.

verb throw back the accent upon the augment or a compounded preposition, in certain cases also upon the negative, e.g. ἔλαβον, πρόσλαβε, οὐ φημι. For the same treatment of the accent of the finite verb we may compare Skt. *vip̄dretana*. In the parent language it appears by comparison that the vocative case, when it was found at the end of any sentence, was accented upon its first syllable, while if it occurred in the interior of the sentence it was enclitic throwing back its accent on to the previous word. This previous word was frequently the interjection 'O', which for this reason appears in Greek with a circumflex accent, the voice originally rising upon the first time-beat of the interjection, falling before the completion of its articulation and remaining in neutral tone, so to speak, throughout the articulation of the proper name. In modern English a vocative (nominative of address) occurring in the middle of a sentence is particularly toneless, especially if the sentence be a statement, as is seen in the sentence, for example, 'I don't think, Mr Jones, you have sufficiently studied these proofs'. All Greek vocatives of three syllables or more were prevented from being enclitic by the law of the place of the accent, which was of universal operation, over-riding any previous custom or law. Those of one or two syllables were also accented on the first and were never enclitic, the change being due to the analogy of the trisyllabic vocatives which were accented on the first syllable. In this way also the accent of the vocative when in the middle of the sentence was brought into conformity with its accent when at the end. Examples of vocatives, showing that the accent is placed as far back as it is possible for it to go, are as follows: Ἀγάμεμνον, Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὦ γέρον, ὦ μήτηρ. In the example Ζεῦ we find the acute of the nominative Ζεύς becoming a circumflex in the vocative in accordance with the rule which throws back the raising of the voice. In the case of Ζεύς the raising of the voice is not completed till the completion of the articulation of the syllable, in the case of Ζεῦ it is raised at the beginning and falls again before the end. Thus Ζεῦ is to Ζεύς as πάτερ is to πατήρ. Similarly we find the vocative of Ὀδυσσεύς to be Ὀδυσσεῦ.

One or two variations from the normal rules of accent that occurred in the dialects will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter on dialects, but the general use and incidence of the accent may perhaps be illustrated best by an extract, which will be taken at random from the author who is the most classical of all Greek prose-writers, the historian Thucydides:

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἦλθον ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλοῦντες, Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, σεισμῶν δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράποντο πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. καὶ περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Ὀροβίαις ἡ θάλασσα ἐπανελθούσα ἀπὸ τῆς τότε οὐσης γῆς καὶ κυματωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε, τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ θάλασσα νῦν ἐστὶ πρότερον οὐσα γῆ· καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀναδραμόντες. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσον παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπικλυσίς, καὶ τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρείλε καὶ δύο νεῶν ἀνελκυσμένων τὴν ἑτέραν κατέειξεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πεπαρήθῳ κύματος ἐπαναχώρησίς τις, οὐ μὲντοι ἐπέκλυσέ γε· καὶ σεισμός τοῦ τείχους τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἄλλας οἰκίας δλίγας. αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιοῦτου, ᾧ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμός ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑσπίνης πάλιν ἐπισπωμένῃν βριαότερον τὴν ἐπικλυσιν ποιεῖν· ἀνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.¹

Thuc. iii. 89.

The opening word, the genitive singular neuter of the definite article, bears the circumflex accent as the result of

¹ 'In the following summer the Peloponnesians and their allies advanced to the Isthmus intending to invade Attica under the command of Agis son of Archidamus king of Sparta. But as the result of a series of earthquakes they withdrew again and no invasion took place. About this time while the earthquakes were taking place, the sea receded from what was then the coast-line and then came up in a tidal wave over part of the city of Orobiae in Euboea. It overwhelmed one part and flowed back from another, and there is now water in places where there was formerly land. All who failed to escape hurriedly to high ground lost their lives. A similar tidal wave occurred at the island of Atalante off the coast of Opuntian Locris, sweeping away the Athenian garrison and destroying one of two ships that were beached there. At Peparethus the sea receded to some extent, but no tidal wave occurred, although part of the wall, the prytaneum and a few other buildings were thrown down by the shock. The cause of this in my opinion was that where the shock was felt most violently the sea was proportionately driven back and on being drawn back again suddenly caused a more violent inundation. It is not likely that this could have occurred apart from the earthquake.'

contraction from older *τόσσό, upon which form the accent was thrown back in accordance with the rule. The accent of the particle δέ disappears with its contraction before the initial vowel of the preceding word. The participle, standing for older *-μένοσο, has the accent in the normal place according to the three-syllable rule. The same is true of the genitive θέπους which derives from an older form *θέπεσος. The compound Πελοποννήσιοι has the accent thrown back as far as the rule will permit, the diphthong of the nominative plural termination of *o*-stems being reckoned for accentual purposes as short. The acute accent of the conjunction καί turns to a middle tone (grave) in accordance with the rule for oxytones.¹ The nominative masculine and feminine singular and plural of the definite article were unaccented in Greek normally, though accented forms are found in certain dialects. In this the article, originally a demonstrative (cf. Skt. *sáḥ*), follows the custom, to which pronouns in general from Indo-European times subscribed, of showing two forms, one accented, one unaccented and enclitic (ἐμέ, με, σοί, σοι). In the Homeric poems the accusative of the demonstrative αὐτόν is enclitic. The definite article was never enclitic, but there are obvious reasons to account for this in its intimate connection with the word or words that follow it and not with those that precede. The substantive ξύμμοχοι is an instance of a compound of adverb and substantive in which according to rule the latter does not retain its own accent but throws it back so far as the rule will allow. On the preposition μέχρι the accent is normal. The derivation of the word is uncertain. The accent of the genitive ἰσθμοῦ, become perispomenon from an original paroxytone (-μοῦ < *-μόσο), is upon the *mo*-suffix, and was so from Indo-European times, the word deriving from an original **is-dh-mó-s*, akin to Old Nordic *eið* with a similar meaning. The accent of most stems in *-mo-s* was upon the suffix and therefore unaffected by the Greek three-syllable

¹ A word is oxytone that has the acute accent on the last syllable, paroxytone if the acute is on the syllable preceding the last, proparoxytone if it is on the second from the end.

rule. ἦλθον is a secondary formation within Greek itself, formed perhaps by confusion between the regular Homeric ἤλυθον and Doric ἦνθον. Its accent is regular for a word of two syllables, the first of which only is long. The adverb ὥς was an original enclitic, but like the unaccented cases of the article, did not throw its accent back. This class of words may be given the general name of proclitics. To this class also came to belong the prepositions, developed from earlier adverbs, and attached to various cases. In this position they bore no accent. The preposition ἐς is an example of this. The accusative feminine singular of the definite article (from original **iām*) retains its original accent and follows the rule for oxytones. The accent upon Ἀττικῇν, a name formed either with the original suffix *-iko-* or *-igo-* or by reason of its form having coalesced in thought and speech with formations with that suffix, has its accent oxytone because this was the most frequent place for the accent in stems formed from this original suffix. On the participle ἐσβαλοῦντες the accent is circumflex by contraction, the form being for an older *βαλέσόντες. The accent of the genitive plural πολλῶν is perispomenon in accordance with the ancient rule dating from pre-Greek times whereby the oxytone accent of certain nominatives became perispomenon in the oblique cases. The nominative πολλύς, πολλοί was oxytone from Indo-European times, as is seen by comparison with the Sanskrit cognate *purúḥ*. The negative οὐκ is proclitic. In the form ἐς-βολή we have a formation from the stem **gʷol* whose accent is oxytone, the *o*-grade¹ of the stem not being accented. The accents on the participles ἐπανελθοῦσα and κυματωθεῖσα are circumflex by contraction, the forms standing respectively for older *θόντιᾶ and *θέντιᾶ. The accent of the genitive πόλεως appears to break the three-syllable rule. This is due to a phonetic change in the Attic dialect only of the early form πόληος to πόλεως by metathesis (that is, substitution of the one for the other) of the long and short vowels at a time subsequent to the fixing of the accent, when the rule had ceased to become actively operative. In Homer the genitive

¹ Forms such as βόλος are later formations.

is πόληος and even in the Ionic dialect, most closely akin of all to Attic, the genitive is πόλιος. In the expression μέρος τι we have the case of an enclitic whose accent disappears, and in νῦν ἐστι an enclitic verb with the same effect. The aorist participle ἀναδραμόντες follows the rule whereby all aorist participles in -ών are accented upon the syllable of the suffix. This accentuation is in contrast to that of present participles in -ων (τρέχων, but δραμών) and dates from Indo-European times, these participles being formed from a weak form of the root which was not accented in the parent language. It was of course unaffected by the three-syllable rule. In the aorist form παρείλεν we have a compound of the adverb πάρα with a verbal form which is contracted from an older form resembling *ἐσέλεν. In composition, which would have taken place *before* contraction, the form retains its accent. If composition had taken place after contraction we should have expected a proparoxytone accent (*πάρειλεν). In the expression ἐπαναχώρησίς τις the enclitic indefinite pronoun throws back its accent regularly to the last syllable of the preceding word. The form μέντοι is a combination of two particles the second of which is enclitic, and the expression ἐπέκλυσέ γε provides an illustration of the working of an enclitic particle upon the accent of a proparoxytone word. The words οὐκ ἄν μοι show the accent of the particle ἄν affected by the following enclitic pronoun. δοκεῖ is for older δοκέει.

To obtain as far as possible an adequate idea of the Greek accent the above passage of Thucydides should be read aloud, the voice being raised in pitch upon those syllables that bear the acute, raised and lowered upon those that bear the circumflex. Stress should be omitted as far as possible. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that the interval between the high and low tones is constant and that it was equal to a fifth or three and a half tones. Sentence pitch, as we have seen, must also have come into play, the general rise or fall of the voice in expression throughout the sentence. Of this little can be ascertained except that it is probable that it normally rose towards the end of the phrase. Of the causes that changed the free accent of the parent Indo-European

and confined it to certain syllables lying at the end of the word we know nothing. It need not necessarily be attributed to the influence of other languages non-Indo-European in character. Most Indo-European languages changed the original accent, and the change may be due to tendencies which date back to times when Indo-European dialects were in process of formation. Whether this be the case or not, we may guess that in the case of long words at any rate there was insensibly felt to be greater musical refinement in placing the high pitch in the centre of the word rather than at the beginning to be followed by a monotonous length of unaccented syllables. But we need not seek for further explanation than to apply the common rule that holds good in every normal case of linguistic change, that it is due to economy of exertion. What is more difficult to enunciate, at any rate what is felt to be more difficult, changes to what is easier. When languages meet and coalesce it frequently happens that what is easier for some speakers is more difficult for others, and so deviations take place from what would otherwise have been the normal course of change. In the present instance we may take it as probable that a time occurred when the speakers of the embryo or infant Greek language found it easier to say ἐπιφερόμενος than *ἐπιφερομενος. If the pitch accent was accompanied by slight stress it is easier for us speakers of modern English to understand the change.

In Hellenistic times the Greek pitch accent changed to a stress incident upon the same syllable as that on which the pitch had previously been. Indications that this change of accent had begun as early as the third century B.C. come to us from papyri and inscriptions, where accented syllables are spelt with ω or η, where the true orthography requires ο or ε, and unaccented syllables *vice versa*. In modern Greek accented vowels are longer than unaccented, though no alteration in orthography has taken place. Thus the sentence δὲν ἔχει πρότερον οὐτε μητέρα is pronounced with stress upon the accented syllables in spite of the fact that in the word ἔχει ε once represented a short vowel and ει a long, while in the word μητέρα η once represented a long vowel and ε a

short. With this stress, which is by no means as strong as our own, there remains a certain amount of pitch. The change from pitch to stress manifested itself at a time when Greek was beginning to become a world language. In course of time many peoples adopted it as their language or employed it in addition to their own, a fact that would go far towards modifying the accent in accordance with the previous usages of the various new speakers. The change was also in accordance, as we have seen, with a general tendency of the Indo-European languages, and in the third place we may well believe that it made for economy of effort in speech.

Chapter III

NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

A Greek noun consists normally of three parts, stem, suffix and case termination. Thus in the word λόγος we find the stem λογ-, the suffix -ο-,¹ and the nominative case termination -ς. In this chapter we shall classify the formative suffixes and examine the case terminations. In all these points we shall find Greek to be adhering closely to the system and laws which it inherited from the parent Indo-European and to have derived very little from foreign sources. Some of these suffixes carried a definite meaning, such, for example, as the suffix -τηρ in words such as δοτήρ which denoted the agent, or as the suffix -τερο-, -τερῶ- which denoted an attribute belonging to one of a pair in contrast to the other (e.g. *left* or *right*, *ours* rather than *yours*, or the comparison of adjectives). Such suffixes are parallel to the use in English of the suffix -er to denote the agent, seen in such words as *seeker*, *waiter*, etc., this being a living suffix in our language at the present time. Others again had no meaning, but were derived whole from the parent language, in the history of which, if we knew it, each suffix had doubtless a living force and meaning at some period of the past. In the word λόγ-ο-ς, for example, no special meaning attaches to the suffix -ο-. Words that have this suffix were either derived as they were, suffix included, from the parent language, as in the case of ἵππος with which we may compare Sanskrit *áśv-a-s* and Latin *equ-u-s*, or were formed with it after Greek had become a separate language by force of habit on the analogy of the former class of words. This statement applies to most if not to all suffixes.

To the ordinary student of the language the Greek nouns are divided into three classes of declension. He is accustomed to group together the stems in -ᾱ-, masculine or feminine, in

¹ This division must be regarded as purely grammatical. It is possible that in I.-E. or pre-I.-E. times such forms as λογο may have stood by themselves and carried a meaning.

a division known as the first declension, the stems in *-o-* in the second, and consonant stems and *-i-* stems with all others in the third. This is a natural and convenient division, helpful in acquiring the case endings, and we shall follow it here although it tends to obscure the phonetic grouping of the suffixes. In the first declension then we find in Greek four sorts of suffixes, examples being the feminines $\chi\acute{o\rho\text{-}\alpha$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\eta$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\text{-}\alpha$ and the masculine $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\text{-}\alpha\varsigma$. The variation seen in the second of these is a peculiarity of the Attic and Ionic dialects only, which changed an original \bar{a} in certain positions to a long open \bar{e} represented by η , as we have seen in the preceding chapter. In Ionic this change was extended, but in Attic it did not take place when \bar{a} followed a front vowel or ρ . Thus we have Attic and Ionic $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$ for Doric $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\bar{\alpha}$ and Ionic $\chi\acute{o\rho\eta}$ for Attic $\chi\acute{o\rho\bar{\alpha}}$. The two stems $\chi\acute{o\rho\alpha}$ and $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$ are therefore in suffix originally identical and both represent long \bar{a} . Stems with this suffix were regarded as being of feminine gender, while *-o-* stems were normally masculine or neuter. This condition of affairs was inherited from Indo-European times, as it holds good in other languages of the family. The reason for the division of substantives into grammatical genders is obscure. These genders did not coincide with the expression of true sex though generally not contradicting it. Thus words in both Greek and Latin that had the meaning of 'woman', 'girl', or the female of animals were regarded as of feminine gender and showed suffixes (such as $-\bar{a}$) usually associated with that gender, but the feminine gender grammatically extended far beyond words that denoted persons or animals of the female sex. The same was of course true of the masculine. This division of nouns into categories of gender is characteristic of the languages of the Indo-European family. It maintains itself in most modern languages of the family to-day, our own having happily outgrown it owing to the disappearance of the distinguishing adjectival and other inflexions due to phonetic decay. In French there are two genders, the Latin neuter having become absorbed, but elementary students become aware of the fact that a pencil is masculine and a pen feminine. In German

where the three genders are maintained we find the moon to be masculine and the sun feminine, while a neuter diminutive is used to express 'girl'. These phenomena seem to us who are rid of them so clumsy and unreasonable that it is surprising that a far greater number of languages has not eliminated them. Various conjectures have been made as to the origin of grammatical gender, but the problem has not yet been satisfactorily solved. It has been thought that the suffixes preceded the genders, and that one or more prominent words with meanings connected with the female sex such as 'woman', 'mother', 'sister', 'mare' happening to show the *-ā* suffix linked the suffix with the idea of femininity. This does not explain the difference between masculine and neuter. Personification has been suggested as exerting an influence on this classification. In modern English it is customary to refer to a ship, a motor-car, a train or other objects connected with machinery with a feminine pronoun. This is a species of personification. Gradually the substantives might come to be regarded as feminine. Ancient peoples, it is argued, and especially the Greeks were in the habit of personifying most natural objects and in this way grammatical gender arose. This may or may not be so. In the languages of certain uncivilised peoples to-day objects fall into certain categories which require different inflexions in their qualifying words. Often there does not seem to be any rational connection between the objects in a given category. This may be due to the fact that in the course of time categories have coalesced, reducing the number of what may originally have been very many categories corresponding to natural divisions of fact, thought or experience, and bringing together in a single category formed by some incidental phonetic action objects or ideas which would naturally have no necessary mutual connection. Something of this sort may have occurred in the early history of grammatical gender. In Greek and Latin we find generally speaking the names of trees and of countries regarded like the names of female persons and animals as feminine. We may explain it along lines such as these. At one time in the history of the parent language or its predecessors the names of all trees had perhaps

a particular common suffix, or at any rate required the addition of a particular suffix in all adjectival or other qualifying words. The same would be true of the names of all countries or words expressing 'country', 'land', 'tribe', etc. These two suffixes perhaps resembled each other phonetically, and resembled also the suffix of the category comprising feminine persons. The tendency of all language being to simplify itself, it is easy to imagine such categories coalescing, a phenomenon that could come about by the mere action of phonetic change or decay. The category in which were the names of masculine persons, animals or objects would naturally have masculinity as its dominant idea, and it is not difficult to see how this could be extended to categories which coalesced with it. The same would of course be true of the feminine gender.

The gender of a noun was shown in Greek by its qualifying article or other words, which took separate inflexions in accordance as the noun was masculine, feminine or neuter. In the adjectives and article the *-ā-* stem was associated with the feminine, the *-o-* stem with the masculine and neuter. This agreement of adjective and noun may have been an asset so far as literature, at least so far as poetry, was concerned. Combined with inflexions of number and case it admitted of considerable freedom in the order of words in a sentence, a device that was used with poetical effect. The inflexion prevented confusion in assigning in thought a given adjective to its noun. In our own language, in which inflexion has been almost entirely lost, we are confined to a rigid order of words in a sentence, this order taking the place of case inflexion in the older stages of the language. We know a noun to be in the nominative if it precedes the verb and in the objective if it follows it. We are thus deprived of that suppleness of expression which was employed in the ancient languages with striking effect. On the other hand the advantage of English over Greek for the purposes of everyday speech is most marked. To express the phrase 'this beautiful woman' the Greek said ἡδε ἡ καλὴ γυνή, the femininity being expressed no less than four times. Such inflexions are unnecessary for the purposes of intelligibility and cause a waste of energy.

The simple *-ā* suffix added to the root is seen in all languages of the Indo-European family. Thus we find O.H.G. *don-a*, *steg-a*, *seg-a*; Skt. *deru-ā*, *ādar-a*, *sir-ā* 'stream'; Lat. *or-a* 'coast', *for-a-s*, *ped-a* 'footstool'. With all these we may compare Greek θύρ-α, ὄργ-ή, φορ-ά, τροχ-ή, τροφ-ή, σπουδ-ή. Stems of definitely feminine meaning are seen in ἵππ-η, θε-ά, δούλ-η, κόρ-η, cf. Skt. *devā*, Lat. *equa*. There frequently occurred in Greek twin stems from the same root formed with the masculine and feminine suffix, as γόνος, γονή; τρόπος, τροπή; τρόφος, τροφή; νόμος, νομή; σπόρος, σπορά; αἰδός, αἰδοή. Precise relationship of meaning between these pairs had been lost, although speaking very generally we may perhaps say that the *-o-* stems tend to show an active meaning, the *-ā-* stems a passive, in those cases where both appear from the same root. In many cases also there is a second *-o-* stem with different accent, possibly formed from the *-ā-* stem. These formations show that at an early stage in the history of the language both before and after the separation from the other Indo-European languages these suffixes were alive. Stems borrowed from foreign languages were given a Greek appearance by the addition of these and other suffixes, but these will be dealt with later under the secondary *-o-* suffixes with which they are in close connection. Indeed the *-ā-* suffix was throughout closely parallel to the *-o-* suffix. Both suffixes appear in the declension of adjectives, the latter being employed to indicate the masculine and neuter, the former the feminine.

The Greek first declension contained also masculine nouns with a nominative singular in *-ās* such as νεανίας, ταυίας. These are a peculiarly Greek formation, formed within Greek after its separation from the parent Indo-European. They were nouns of masculine meaning which came to have such a meaning after their formation as *-ā-* stems, or which took an *-ā-* suffix owing to close association with other stems showing an *-ā-* suffix. In some cases they may have been formed directly as masculines to feminine nouns in *-ā-*. The *-s* termination of their nominative singular was taken in imitation of the *-o-* stems and their genitive singular was formed like-

wise. The formation of such nouns shows how clearly the nominative termination in *-s* following a vowel was associated with the masculine gender in the early Greek mind, and similarly how clearly the *-ā* stems were associated with the feminine. Masculine *-ā* stems in Latin, such as *scriba*, *agricola*,¹ did not differ in form or termination from the feminine *-ā* stems of the same declension. The formation of the masculine stems in *-ās* in Greek shows a logical clearness of grammatical conception, behind which lies an orderly neatness of mind, and a linguistic suppleness proving a capable instrument for these qualities. We have to remember that in living languages these forces work along the line of instinct and not of conscious volition. Grammarians may form grammatical rules, but they are only tabulating and co-ordinating the forces of living linguistic activity of the past. No one in early Greek history expressed a conscious determination to form first declension substantives in *-ās*. They appeared in speech as the living expression of a linguistic instinct, and in doing so they constituted a humble illustration in the linguistic sphere of certain qualities of the Greek mind. The Greek language is full of such illustrations, indeed it is the expression of such qualities.

Still approaching along the same line as the student of elementary Greek grammar, we will examine the case terminations of the *-ā-* stems of the first declension. The nominative singular has no termination, a fact true of *-ā-* stems in the other languages of the family. The *-s* termination of the masculine stems has already been discussed. The vocative singular throughout the language family shows no termination. In the feminine stems it is identical with the nominative. In the masculine stems we find the dropping of the nominative termination as is natural. Thus *νεανίας* shows a vocative *νεανία*. In the nouns in *-της* (originally *-tās*) a short vowel occurs. Thus *ναῦ-της* gives *ναῦ-τᾶ*.² This enables the accent to be thrown back on to the first syllable, a place where it cannot be in any other oblique case of the word. This, as

¹ As an exception a few nominatives in *-as* occur in Old Latin.

² In the Aeolic dialect the vocative of *feminine* stems is also shortened, e.g. *χῶρᾶ*.

we have seen in the last chapter, is the natural place for the accent in the vocative. The short vowel probably derives from an original *o* and is paralleled in Slav. *žen-o*, vocative of *žen-a* 'woman', *rk-o*, etc., and in cases such as Umbrian *Turs-a*. The accusative singular termination is in *-v*, e.g. *χώρα-v*, *μάχη-v*, *θάλασσα-v*, *ναυία-v*, *δεσπότη-v*. This represents an original *m*, which when final passed in Greek into *v*. It is paralleled in other languages, cf. Goth. *giba*, Old Prussian *rānka-n*, Skt. *dāvā-m*, Lat. *equa-m*, Welsh *loga-n*. The genitive singular of the feminine stems shows the suffix *-s* unchanged from Indo-European times. It occurs also in Goth. (e.g. *gibo-s*), Lith. (e.g. *rañko-s*), Skt. (in one example, *gnā-s*), Old Latin (e.g. *familiā-s*) and Ir. (e.g. *mnā*, which once showed the termination *-s*). The masculine stems show a termination influenced by that of the *-o-* stems of the second declension. This occurs in Homer and in the Thessalian and Boeotian dialects as *-āo*, in Ionic as *-εω* or *-ω*, in Attic as *-ου*, in Arcadian, Cyprian and Pamphylian as *-āv*, and in Lesbian, Dorian and Elean as *-ā*. The phonetic history of the Attic termination is not clear. In any case the termination was closely affected by the masculine *-o-* stems. It is peculiar to Greek. The dative termination descends also from the original Indo-European. Originally it was *-ai*. This in the case of the stems in *-ā-* naturally contracted to *-āi*, and thus it appears in Greek. By a trick of Byzantine orthographists the iota appears in the dative case as subscript. This perhaps indicates that its pronunciation was weak, but originally, and doubtless in classical times, the termination was pronounced as a true diphthong. The forms *χώρα*, *μάχη*, *ναυία*, etc., are paralleled in Goth. *gib-ai*, Skt. *brhaty-āt*, Lat. *equ-ae*. In the original language three further cases existed, the ablative, locative and instrumental. These fell out of use in Greek, their functions being taken over by the genitive and dative, although the locative remains, as we shall see, in the datives of the third declension. Remains of all three are to be found in certain adverbs and place-names.

The dual number, originally a feature of all Indo-European languages, survived in Greek as far as classical times, dis-

appearing in Hellenistic times. It was used chiefly to express objects naturally in pairs, such as two hands, two eyes, two feet. The nominative, vocative and accusative of the dual were identical in form. The original termination appears to have been *-ai*. The Greek *-ā-* stems show the termination *-ā*. This cannot be derived from an original *-ā* as such a sound would appear in Ionic, and in Attic under certain conditions, as *-η*. It appears to have been formed on the analogy of the *-o-* stems, whose plural is in *-οι* and dual in *-ω*. Thus the equation arose *-ā* to *-αι* as *-ω* to *-οι*. This formation, which took place within Greek, serves again to illustrate the close connection that existed in the mind between the *-o-* and *-ā-* stems. The genitive and dative dual were also identical. In the *-ā-* stems the termination is *-αιν*, in both other declensions *-οιν*. Neither of these terminations shows any parallel in other Indo-European languages, and their history is unknown.

In the plural the nominative and vocative were identical. The termination *-αι* (in *χῶραι*, *μάχαι*, *νεανίαι*, etc.) is paralleled in Latin (*mensae*, etc.). It appears not to descend directly from the parent language, but to be derived from the pronouns, where it is original. It is also closely parallel to the termination *-οι* of the *-o-* stems. The accusative plural, appearing in Lesbian as *-αις* and in Attic as *-ᾱς*, is for *-ans*, seen also in Old Prussian *rānk-ans*, Arm. *ams* for older **amans*, Umbrian *vilaf*, possibly Lat. *uias*. In the termination of the genitive plural of the *-ā-* stems we find a further case of borrowing from the pronominal declension. The termination appears in Homer and Boeotian as *-ᾱων*, Thessalian as *-ᾱουν*, Lesbian as *-ᾱν*, Ionic as *-έων*, Attic as *-ῶν*, Doric as *-ᾱν*. These forms¹ derive from a common Greek **-ᾱσων*, corresponding to Latin *-ārum*, which is from an older **-āsōm*. The dative plural does not derive from an original dative but from a locative or instrumental. In this case the *-ā-* stems again closely follow the *-o-* stems. The terminations occur as *-οισι*, *-αισι*, or in the shortened form

¹ The vowel *-α-* in those forms in which it appears is not part of the termination but of the stem.

of -οις, -αις. In the former case they are locatives, in the latter they may be contractions of the former or original instrumentals. Thus in Greek we find two instances of synthesis or the coalescing of originally separate cases. The ablative disappeared in form, its function being taken over by the genitive, while in the second case the synthesis is of three cases, the dative, locative and instrumental, whose functions coalesced. In the singular of the *-ā-* and *-o-* stems the form of the dative remained, in the plural the form of the locative, possibly also of the instrumental. All were regarded by the grammarians as datives.

We now pass to the *-o-* stems, known as nouns of the second declension. These consist of masculines and neuters with a few feminines which do not differ in form from the masculines. The *-s* termination of the masculine nominative is original and appears in the other languages also, e.g. Goth. *wulf-s*, Lith. *vilk-a-s*, Skt. *vfka-h*, Gr. *λύκο-ς*, Lat. *lupu-s*, Gal. *tarvo-s*. The vocative singular termination shows vowel gradation. In this case alone the vowel of the suffix alters from *-o-* to *-e*. This phenomenon is also original. Its roots probably lay in the alteration of pitch accent that took place in the vocative, an alteration natural in the process of address. At one time perhaps a difference of pitch accompanied vowel gradation. The form *λύκ-ε* corresponds to Goth. *wulf*, Lith. *vilk-ē*, Skt. *vfka-a*, Arm. *mard*, Lat. *lup-e*, Ir. *fir*. The accusative singular termination, as in the case of the *-ā-* stems, was originally *-m*, becoming in Greek *-v*. Thus *λύκο-v* corresponds to Goth. *wulf*, Old Prussian *deiwa-n*, Skt. *vfka-m*, Lat. *lupu-m*. The Homeric genitive of the *-o-* stems -οιο is easier to explain historically than the Attic -ου. The former goes back to an original **-sjo* and corresponds to Skt. *vfka-sya*, Arm. *mard-oy*. Homeric and Attic -ου (in certain dialects -ω) derive possibly from an original form **-so* occurring in the Germanic languages. Otherwise their origin is not clear. The dative singular derives directly from the parent language. Thus *ἱππ-ω* corresponds to O.H.G. *wolf-e*, Old Latin *Numasi-oi*.

The original termination of the nominative, vocative and accusative dual, which was *-ōu* or *-ō*, was maintained in Greek.

Thus Gk. λῦκ-ω corresponds to Lith. *vilk-à*, Skt. *vṛk-āu*. The termination -οιϛ of the genitive and dative dual is, as we have seen, confined to Greek. Its origin is unknown.

In the plural the nominative and vocative termination -οι corresponds to Lith. *vilk-ai*, Lat. *lup-ī*, Gal. -οι. This termination is identical with that of the nominative plural masculine of the pronominal declension and is considered to have been borrowed from it in the first instance. The original termination of the accusative plural was -ns. This was maintained in Greek, λῦκ-οϛ passing in Lesbian into -οις, in Attic and Ionic into -οϛς, and in Boeotian and some Doric dialects into -ως. Corresponding forms in other languages are Goth. *wulf-ans*, Skt. *vṛk-ān*, Lat. *lup-ōs*. The genitive plural termination -ων derives from the original -ōm seen in Latin *de-um*. The so-called dative plural, as in the case of the -ā- stems, was in reality a locative or instrumental, the former being found in the lengthened forms such as λῦκ-οισι, the latter in the more familiar form λῦκ-οις.

The second declension contains also neuter nouns, which differ from the masculine only in the nominative and vocative singular, which are identical in termination with the accusative singular, and in the nominative, vocative and accusative plural. The nominative singular termination in -om, becoming in Greek -ov, was original. It appears in Skt. *yug-dm*, Gk. *zyγ-δν*, Lat. *iug-um*. The neuter plurals show the same termination as the nominative singular of the feminine -ā- stems. Thus Gk. *zyγ-ά* corresponds to Goth. *juk-a*, Skt. *yug-ā*, Lat. *iug-a*. It has been suggested that these terminations were originally identical, the neuter plurals arising from collectives which had been feminine singulars.

Before turning to the substantives grouped in what is known as the third declension we must glance at the secondary suffixes employed in the formation of the -o- and -ā- stems. In addition to the simple formation -ος there are suffixes such as -ιος, -τος, etc. The suffix -ιο-, -iā was original. It occurs in cases where an adjective is formed from an adverb in -ι, such as ἀντίος from ἀντί, πρόιος from πρόι. We may compare Skt. *madhyas*, Lat. *alius*, *medius*, *antiae*. Certain verbal

adjectives also are formed with this suffix, such as ἄγιος (cf. Skt. *yājñas* with the same meaning), στύγιος, πάγιος. The feminine and neuter of some of these adjectives were used as substantives, such as σφάγιον 'offering', earlier the neuter of an adjective with the meaning 'meet to be offered', or μανία, πένια, abstract substantives formed from the feminine of adjectives. The suffix is most frequently employed to form denominative adjectives such as πάτριος, ἱππίος, and in this capacity, as the comparative method proves, it comes down from Indo-European times. Extensions of this suffix are those in -αῖος, -οῖος and -εῖος, which seem to have originated within Greek itself after its separation from the common linguistic stock. The influence of non-Greek languages may be in evidence here, though there is nothing to prove that such is the case. In the first declension we noticed nouns of the type of θάλασσα. This word, as we saw, is of unknown etymology, but if it is parallel to other substantives of the same formation, it would have had an older form *θαλατιᾱ. This suffix -iᾱ correlates with the Sanskrit termination in -ī, the original of both being probably -iḥ. The suffix is of some frequency in Greek, being often employed in words of definitely feminine meaning, and familiar in formations such as τέκταινα (from an older *τεκτατιᾱ).

Another inherited suffix is that in -μο-, -μᾶ-, found in both substantives and adjectives and disguised in Greek by the disappearance of digamma in accordance with phonetic rule. Examples are κόρη (from older κόρῃᾱ), ἀρή (Ep. from *ἀρῃᾱ), λαῖός, σκαῖός, ὅλος (from *ὄλῃᾱ), κενός (from *κενῃᾱ). The suffix carries no particular meaning in the case of substantives. In the case of adjectives there is a tendency for adjectives denoting colour, totality, and left and right, with many others, to be formed with this suffix.

The suffix -mos, -mā is frequent in Greek, as is seen in substantives such as θυ-μός, ὄδυρ-μός, κόσ-μος, τι-μή, γνῶ-μη, ἔρε-τ-μός, ἀρι-θ-μός, μερι-σ-μός. These are as a rule abstract nouns formed from verbs. The suffix also occurs in the ordinal numeral ἑβδο-μος (cf. Lith. *sek-mas*, Skt. *sapta-mās*, Lat. *septi-mus*, Ir. *secht-m-ad*), where it is probably parallel to the

superlative suffix *-mos* that occurs in certain languages (e.g. Lat. *sum-mus*, *i-mus*). An extension of this suffix is the frequent adjectival suffix *-σιμος*, seen in words such as *βάσιμος*, *χρήσιμος*, *ζητήσιμος*.

The suffix *-no-*, *-nā-* is frequent in Greek both in substantives and adjectives. Examples are *ὑπνος*, *τέκνον*, *ποινή*, *καπνός*, *ἄγνός*, *στυγνός*, *σεμνός*, *δεινός*, *παιδνός*. The suffix carries with it no special meaning in Greek. Further suffixes are *-ανο-*, *-ανᾶ-* appearing for example in adjectives such as *πιθανός*, *βάσκανος* and substantives such as *στέφανος*, *δρέπανον*, *κοίρανος*, *ὀλίσθανος*. In some cases this derived from an original *-ano-*. Certain names of implements and certain abstracts show a suffix *-ονη*, e.g. *ἄκονη*, *σφενδόνη*, *περόνη*, *ἡδονή*, *ἀγχονή*. In addition there occur *-ῖνο-*, *-ῖνη* and *-ῖνο-*, *-ῖνη*. The first was employed in the formation of adjectives deriving from locatives in *-i*, such as *ἑαρι-νός*, *περυσι-νός*, *ἑωθι-νός*, *ἡμερινός*, *χειμερινός* (cf. Lat. *hibernus* from **heimri-nos*); and also in that of adjectives denoting material or origin, such as *φήγιнос* (cf. Lat. *faginus*), *βύβλινος*, *ἀνθρώπινος*. The second is found in adjectives such as *ἐρυθρ-ῖνος*, *κορακ-ῖνος*, and we may compare Lat. *suīnus*. All these *-n-* suffixes are derived from the parent language and are shared with other members of the linguistic family. A suffix that corresponds with vowel gradation to the Sanskrit suffix *-tvand* is seen in *-συνη*, deriving from an older **-τυνᾶ*. It is employed in the formation of feminine abstracts derived from adjectives, such as *δουλοσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *κερδοσύνη*, and in certain adjectives, e.g. *δεσπότης*. We may compare Skt. *vasu-tvand-m*, *marīya-tvand-m*. The suffix *-μενο-*, *-μενη* is used in the formation of middle and passive participles, being derived in this use from the parent language and paralleled in Old Prussian, Aryan and Italic. Thus Gk. *φερό-μενος* corresponds to Old Prussian *po-klausī-manas*, Skt. *yaja-mānas* and possibly Lat. *legi-mini* of the second person plural passive. A similar suffix *-μνο-* seen in such formations as *βέλε-μνο-ν* is paralleled in Old Persian and in such examples as Lat. *alu-mnu-s*.

We now come to formations with liquids. There is a suffix *-tro-*, *-trā-* employed in the formation of nouns in close con-

nection with substantives in *-ter-*, *-tor-* which denote the agent. Generally speaking such nouns formed secondarily from the latter denote a tool or instrument used by the agent. Examples are θέλκτρον, ἄροτρον, φέρετρον, μέτρον, νίπτρον. The suffix and the accompanying signification are paralleled in other languages. A few masculines occur with this suffix such as ἱατρός. A common element in the formation both of substantives and adjectives is the simple suffix *-ro-*, *-rā*. Examples are ἄγρός, ἄφρός, κάπρος, κόπρος, δῶρον, ὕδρος, ἐρυθρός, ἐλαφρός, μακρός, ἄκρος. In addition we find *-aro-* used in adjectives and deriving from an original *-aro-* as is shown by the Sanskrit parallel (e.g. *īśirās*, *liparās*); *-ero-* (e.g. *πιερός*, *πενθέρως*, *πτερόν*, *φοβέρως*, *κρατερός*, *ἐλεύθερος*); *-uro-* (e.g. *ἄργυρος*, *ἐχυρός*); *-āro-*, *-hro-*, *-ūro-* (e.g. *ἀνιᾶρός*, *πονηρός*, *ἰσχυρός*). All these suffixes appear also in the related languages. Original suffixes employed in the formation of the comparative of adjectives were *-ero-* and *-tero-*. The former of these occurs infrequently in Greek. Examples are ὑπερός, cf. Skt. *uṣpara-* 'the upper', and ὀδερός (= γαστήρ Hesych.), cf. Skt. *udāram*. The suffix *-tero-* on the other hand was normally employed to form the comparative of a large class of adjectives, e.g. σοφώτερος, ὠμότερος, γλυκύτερος, ἀληθέστερος, χαριέστερος, δεξιότερος, παλαιότερος. The same suffix is seen in certain words that once denoted the alternative or contrasting member of a pair, e.g. πρότερος, πότερος, ἡμέτερος. The suffix is seen in Eng. *after*, *hinder*, Slav. *jutro*, Skt. *apataram*, Lat. *deterior*, *noster*, Ir. *ochtar*. Other suffixes derived from Indo-European times are *-thro-*, *-thrā-*, *-thlo-*, *-thlā-*. Generally speaking the meaning is that of the instrument. Examples are βάθρον, ἄρθρον, ὄλεθρος, γένεθλον, and we may compare Latin *flabrum*, *candelabrum*. The simple suffix *-lo-*, *-lā-* occurred with some frequency in Greek. Examples are στῦλος, κτίλος, καυλός, θηλή. There also occur *-alo-*, *-elo-*, *-ilo-*, *-ālo-*, *-hlo-*, and *-wlo-*, as seen in κεφαλή, ὀμφαλός, νεφέλη, ἄγέλη, σκόπελος, ποικίλος, σιγηλός, νοσηλός, κάπηλος, τράχηλος, φειδωλός. More frequent in Greek are *-ulo-*, *-ullo-*, *-ullio-*, *-ullid-*, *-ullidio-*. All these suffixes were inherited from pre-Greek times.

In Indo-European times the suffix *-bho-*, *-bhā-* was employed particularly in the names of animals and in this capacity it descended to Greek. Examples are *ἐλαφος*, *κόραφος*, *κίδαφος*, *ἐριφος*. We may compare in other languages Skt. *uṣṣa-bhās* 'steer', Lith. *gulbis* 'swan', Slav. *jastrebŏ* 'hawk', Lat. *columba*, *palumbes*, Eng. *lamb*.

The suffix *-to-*, *-tā-* was a fruitful one in Greek, especially among verbal adjectives whose meaning approached that of participles. In other languages the suffix was the recognised one employed in past participles. Examples are *κλυτός* (cf. Skt. *krutās*), *βατός*, *στρωτός*, *στατός*, *βροτός*, *γνωτός*. Many masculines and nouns denoting the agent ended in *-της* with genitive *-του*, such as *τοξότης*, *ναύτης*, *κλέπτης*, *ιδιώτης*. Ordinal numerals were also formed with *-το-*, as for example *τέταρτος*, *έκτος*, *δέκατος*, while from Indo-European times the suffix *-isto-* had been employed to form the superlative (*ἄριστος*, *ἐλάχιστος*, etc.). In addition there were suffixes with a dental (*-δος*, *-θος*), and with a velar or palatal (*-κος*, *-ικος*, *-ακος*, *-σκος*, *-ισκος*). The last was employed to form diminutives such as *παιδίσκος*, while the dental played a considerable part in the formation of patronymics (e.g. *Ἀτρεΐδης*).

We now come to the nouns grouped under what is known as the third declension. These consist of consonant stems and vowel stems in *-i-* and *-u-* with certain others, and differ in their case terminations from the *-o-* and *-a-* stems. The simplest class are those which add their case terminations directly to their stem without any intervening suffix. Examples of such, mostly descending directly from the parent language, are as follows: *πούς*, *ποδός* (cf. Skt. *pāt*, *pād-am*, *pad-as*, Lat. *pēs*, *pedis*), *ὄψ* (cf. Skt. *vāk*, Lat. *uōx*), *οὖς* (Dor. *ῶς*) (cf. Skt. dual *uṣi*), *βούς*, *βοός* (cf. Skt. *gāuṣ*, Lat. *bās*, *bouis*), *χθών*, *χθονός* (cf. Skt. *kṣāṣ*), *χίων*, *χιόνος* (cf. Arm. *jiun*), *ὄφρυς*, *ὄφρυος* (cf. Skt. *bhrūṣ*), *ῥς*, *ῥός* (cf. Lat. *sūs*), *μῦς*, *μυός* (cf. Lat. *mūs*), *νοῦς* (cf. Skt. *nāuṣ*), *ἄλς*, *ἄλός* (cf. Lat. *sal*, *salis*), *κλώψ*, *κλωπός*. It will be noticed that some of these stems show vowel gradation between the nominative and the oblique cases, while in others the vowel remains unchanged.

Stems in *-i-* are a feature of Greek declension as they are of other languages. Thus *πόλ-ις*, *ὄφ-ις*, *τρόφ-ις* correspond to Skt. *dh-is*, Lat. *au-is*, etc. These stems in *-is* are of all genders. We shall examine their declension shortly. Greek shows also feminines in *-ω*, from original *-ōi*, such as *Λητώ*, *Πειθώ*. Forms in *-ῶς* and *-ῷς* descended from the parent language, many adjectives being formed with the latter suffix, such as *ἡδύς*, *εὐρύς*, *βαρύς*, *ἐλαχύς*. Other examples are *ὀφρύς*, *ἰχθύς*, *ἰσχύς*, *γένυς*, *πῆχυς* (cf. Skt. *svādús*, *gurús*, *laghuś*, *hānuś*, *bāhús*). A set of nouns whose origin and relationships have caused much discussion and difficulty are those in *-εύς* such as *βασιλεύς*. They cannot be clearly related to similar formations in other languages. We learn from Stephanus of Byzantium¹ that this termination was frequent in Phrygian and we may surmise that Asianic influence was present at some time during its history in Greek.

Of the consonant stems the nasals formed a large proportion. Masculines were formed in *-ων*, *-ην*, neuters in *-α* (for original *η*). Examples are *τέκτων*, *χειμών*, *ἀγών*, *ποιμήν*, *χείμα*, *στρουθίων*, *αἰών* (for older **αἰφών*). Nouns denoting the agent were often found in *-μων* (e.g. *ἄκμων*, *τλήμων*, *ἐλεήμων*, *ἡγεμών*), and there were corresponding neuters in *-μα*, such as *ὄνομα*, *χεῦμα*, *τέρμα*, *εἶμα*, *σχῆμα*. All these have ready correlatives in other languages of the family. Ablaut was sometimes present and sometimes absent in their declension. A large number of stems was formed with liquids. There were neuters in *-αρ* or *-ωρ* with oblique cases in *-ατ-ος* from original *-ti-os*, a combination of liquid and nasal seen for example in Lat. *iter*, *itineris*, *iecur*, *iecinoris*. Examples are *οὐθαρ*, *ἥπαρ*, *ῥίμαρ*, *φρέαρ*, *ὕδωρ*. Nouns denoting the agent or of somewhat similar meaning were formed in *-ηρ*, *-ωρ*, *-τηρ*, *-τωρ*, such as *δοτήρ*, *δότηωρ*, *πατήρ*, *ἀντήρ*, *γενετήρ*.

A frequent suffix was *-τι-* seen in adjectives such as *ἀγνώς*, *-ῶτος*, substantives such as *κέλης*, *γυμνήτης*, and neuters such as *μέλι-τος*, *γάλα-κτος*. Abstracts, as in Sanskrit and Latin, were often formed with the suffix *-tāt-* seen in *ὀλότης*, *νεότης*,

¹ Under **Ανανα*.

θεότης, γλυκύτης, παχύτης, the nominative formation being for older **-tāts*. A suffix combining nasal and dental was inherited from Indo-European times and largely employed in the formation of active participles. It appears as *-nt-*, *-ent-* or *-ont-*. Thus φέρων, φέροντ- corresponds to Skt. *bhḍrant-* and with vowel gradation to Latin *ferent-*, ἰδών, ἰδόντ- to Skt. *vidánt-*. Substantives such as γέρων, ὄδους, ἄρχων were originally present participles. An extension of this suffix was that in *-uent-* appearing in Greek as *-eis* in adjectives such as χαρίεις, μητιόεις. Suffixes *-tis* and *-tus*, the former appearing as *-σις*, were common as in τίσις, βάσις, στάσις, φύσις, γένεσις, ἄρτύς. Somewhat favourite suffixes were those in *-d*, such as *-ας*, *-αδος* (e.g. λαμπάς, νιφάς), *-ις*, *-ιδος* (e.g. ἄσπις, ἑλπίς, ἔρις).

A few consonantal stems were formed with the velar such as μείραξ, ἀλώπηξ, and the voiced velar is seen in stems such as ἄρπαξ *-αγος*, πτέρυξ *-υγος*, φάλαγξ *-αγγος*, τέττιξ *-ίγος*.

Stems in *-s-* occurred with some frequency. The largest section were the neuters in *-ος*, *-εσ-* with vowel gradation between the nominative and oblique cases. Such are γένος *-ους* (for older **-esos*), πλῆθος, ἔτος. An original schwa is seen in the termination of the neuters in *-ας* (older **-as*) such as κρέας, γῆρας, δέμας. Finally we find an extended *-s-* suffix, *-μες-*, *-μος-* with *-μετ-*, *-μω-* used for the formation of the perfect participle active. Examples are εἰδώς, πεπονθώς, λελοιπώς.

The suffixes that we have surveyed are derived from the parent language and show their normal development in Greek. Two possible exceptions only exist. These are the feminines in *-ω* and the stems in *-εως* such as βασιλεύς. Of neither can we postulate with certainty a non-Indo-European origin, but we have seen that there is reason to believe that the latter depends to some extent upon Asianic influence. The Greeks therefore showed little linguistic originality in the morphology of their nouns, finding the Indo-European system sufficient for their needs. An exception, as we have seen, was the convenient formation of the masculine *-ā-* stems, in which a certain neatness and logicity of mind was manifested.

We must now examine briefly the case terminations of the consonantal and other stems of the third declension. The nominative singular shows no suffix in stems in -ων, -ην, -ωρ, -ηρ, -ως, -ης, such as τέκτων, ποιμήν, δώτωρ, πατήρ, εἰδώς, δυσμενής. The feminines in -ω of doubtful origin also show no suffix. In all other stems the suffix is -ς. Examples are πόλι-ς, ἡδύ-ς, ὀφρύ-ς, βασιλεύ-ς, πάτρω-ς, εἰ-ς, χαρίει-ς, στά-ς, φυγά-ς, ἀσπί-ς, πού-ς, ὁδού-ς, δού-ς, θεί-ς, φύλαξ, φάλαγξ, Ζεύ-ς, βοῦ-ς, ναῦ-ς, ὄψ.

The vocative singular is marked in most cases by the absence of termination as in the case of the -ā- and -o- stems. Where there is vowel gradation the vocative agrees with the oblique cases as against the nominative, and the accent is thrown as far back as possible. Thus we find τέκτον, δῶτορ, πάτερ, δύσμενες, πόλι, ὄφρυ, βασιλεῦ, αἰδοῖ, Ζεῦ, βοῦ, ναῦ. The vocative in -οῖ of the stems in -ως is probably formed on the analogy of those in -ω. Thus αἰδοῖ is to αἰδώς as Λητοῖ is to Λητώ. In other cases the vocative had become assimilated in form to the nominative.

The termination of the accusative singular was -m, as we have already seen in the case of the -ā- and -o- stems. When following a vowel this appears in Greek as -ν; in consonantal stems, being originally a sonant nasal,¹ it appears as -α. Thus the vowel stems are identical in form with those of the first and second declensions, πόλι-ν, ὀφρῦ-ν, while the consonant stems show -α, τέκτον-α, ποίμεν-α, δώτορ-α, πατέρ-α, δυσμενῇ (for *-εσα), αἰδῶ (for *-οσα). In the case of the neuters the nominative, vocative and accusative singular showed no suffix, e.g. ἱδρι, μέθυ, ἡδύ, ὄνομα, γένος. Stems that combined liquid and nasal showed the liquid only, such as οὖθαρ, ὕδαρ.

For the genitive singular the termination -ος was inherited from Indo-European times. Thus we find τέκτον-ος, ποιμέν-ος, πατρ-ός, δυσμενοῦς, αἰδοῦς, ὀφρύος, corresponding to Skt. -ah and Lat. -is. Genitives in -εως, such as πόλεως, βασιλέως, occur in Attic for an earlier -ηος, the change being quite late since it follows and does not dislocate the fixing of the accent on the first syllable. Genitives such as ἄστ-εως,

¹ See p. 36.

πῆχ-εως, belonging to the *-u-* stems were formed by analogy from the *-i-* stems.

The dative singular in *-ι* of the third declension is in form an original locative. It corresponds to Skt. *-i* and Latin *-e* in the ablative singular termination of nouns of the third declension. Thus we find in Greek τέκτον-ι, ποιμέν-ι, πατρ-ι, γένει (for **-εσι*).

The termination of the nominative, vocative and accusative dual of all genders was *-ε*. This corresponds perhaps to Celtic and Iranian forms. Greek examples are τέκτονε, ποιμένε, πατέρε. The form in *-η* of the neuter *-s-* stems (γένη, ἄστη) is a plural and not a dual form. The termination *-οιν* of the other cases of the dual, a purely Greek formation, has already been discussed.

The nominative and vocative plural, except in the case of the neuters, ended in *-ες*, a termination inherited from Indo-European times and corresponding to Skt. *-ah*. Thus we have βό-ες, νῆ-ες, τέκτον-ες, ποιμέν-ες, κύν-ες, μητέρ-ες, φέροντ-ες, πόδ-ες, φυγάδ-ες, μείρακ-ες, δυσμενεῖς (= *-εσ-ες*). As we have already seen, the termination of the accusative plural was *-ας, -ης*. The latter, occurring in the case of the consonantal stems, appeared as *-ας*. This corresponds to Skt. *-as* and Latin *-ēs*. Examples are κύν-ας, τέκτον-ας, ἀνδρ-ας, μητέρ-ας, μείρακ-ας, φέροντ-ας, πόδ-ας. Accusatives such as πόλεις, δυσμενεῖς, ἐλάττους are probably forms assimilated to the nominative. For the neuters, as we have already noticed, the termination for nominative, vocative and accusative plural was *-α* throughout. In the case of the stems in *-s-* this contracts with the preceding vowel after the loss of the intervocalic *-s-* giving the forms γέν-η, πλήθ-η. The genitive plural terminates also in *-ων* throughout, as in the *-o-* stems, deriving from an older *-ōm*. In the plural the so-called dative is again locative in form, Greek *-σι* apparently corresponding to Sanskrit and Lithuanian *-su*, though the reason for the change of vowel¹ is not clear. The *-i-* and *-u-* stems substitute *ε* for the vowel of the stem by analogy with the vowel of the

¹ The simplest explanation is that it is due to the analogical influence of the singular *-ι*.

nominative and accusative plural or with that of other stems, producing forms such as πόλεσι, πῆχεσι, ἡδέσι, and the corresponding genitive plurals.

The history of the Greek noun suffixes will be best seen at a glance if we set out in full in parallel tables the declension of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin nouns, choosing in each case an *-ā-* stem, an *-o-* stem, an *-i-* stem and a consonant stem.

	SANSKRIT	GREEK	LATIN
<i>Singular</i>	<i>kāntā</i> 'beloved'	χώρα 'country'	<i>mensa</i> 'table'
<i>Nom.</i>	kānt-ā	χώρα-ᾱ	mens-ā
<i>Voc.</i>	kānt-e	χώρα-ᾱ	mens-ā
<i>Acc.</i>	kānt-ām	χώρα-ᾱν	mens-am
<i>Gen.</i>	kāntā-yāḥ	χώρα-ᾱς	(mens)-ās
<i>Dat.</i>	kāntā-yai	χώρα-ᾱι	mens-ae
<i>Abl.</i>	kāntā-yāḥ		(mens)-ad
<i>Instr.</i>	kānta-yā		
<i>Loc.</i>	kāntā-yām		
<i>Dual</i>			
<i>N., V. and Acc.</i>	kānt-e	χώρα-ᾱ	
<i>Gen. and Loc.</i>	kānta-yoḥ	χώρα-αιν	
<i>D., Abl. and Instr.</i>	kāntā-bhyām }		
<i>Plural</i>			
<i>N., V.</i>	kānt-āḥ	χώρα-αι	mens-ae
<i>Acc.</i>	kānt-āḥ	χώρα-ᾱς	mens-ās
<i>Gen.</i>	kānt-ānām	χώρα-ᾱν	mens-ārum
<i>Dat.</i>	kāntā-bhyaḥ		
<i>Abl.</i>	kāntā-bhyaḥ		
<i>Instr.</i>	kāntā-bhiḥ	? χώραις	mens-is
<i>Loc.</i>	kāntā-su	χώραισι, χώραις	
<i>Singular</i>	<i>kānt-</i> 'beloved'	λόγος 'word'	<i>annus</i> 'year'
<i>Nom.</i>	kānta-ḥ	λόγο-ς	annu-s
<i>Voc.</i>	kānt-a	λόγ-e	ann-e
<i>Acc.</i>	kānta-m	λόγο-ν	ann-um
<i>Gen.</i>	kānta-sya	λόγ-ου	ann-i
<i>Dat.</i>	kānt-āya	λόγ-ω	ann-ō
<i>Abl.</i>	kānt-āt		(ann)-ōd
<i>Instr.</i>	kānt-ena		
<i>Loc.</i>	kānt-e		
<i>Dual</i>			
<i>N., V. and Acc.</i>	kānt-au	λόγ-ω	
<i>Gen. and Loc.</i>	kānta-yoḥ	λόγ-οιν	
<i>D., Abl. and Instr.</i>	kāntā-bhyām }		

NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

83

	SANSKRIT	GREEK	LATIN
<i>Plural</i>			
<i>N., V.</i>	kānt-āḥ	λόγ-οι	ann-ī
<i>Acc.</i>	kānt-ān	λόγ-ους	ann-ōs
<i>Gen.</i>	kānt-ānām	λόγ-ων	ann-ōrum
<i>Dat.</i>	kānte-bhyaḥ		
<i>Abl.</i>	kānte-bhyaḥ		
<i>Instr.</i>	kānt-aiḥ	? λόγοις	ann-īs
<i>Loc.</i>	kānte-ṣu	λόγοισι, λόγοις	

εὐcí 'pure'

πόλις 'city'

ciuis 'citizen'

Singular

<i>Nom.</i>	εὐcí-ῃ	πόλι-ς	ciui-s
<i>Voc.</i>	εὐíce	πόλι	ciui-s
<i>Acc.</i>	εὐcí-m	πόλι-v	ciu-em
<i>Gen.</i>	εὐcí-εῃ	πόλ-ιος, πόλ-ηος, πόλ-εως	ciu-is
<i>Dat.</i>	εὐcí-aye		ciu-ī
<i>Abl.</i>	εὐcí-εῃ		
<i>Instr.</i>	εὐcí-nā		
<i>Loc.</i>	εὐcí-au	πόλ-ι, πόλ-ηι πόλ-ει	ciu-e

Dual

<i>N., V. and Acc.</i>	εὐcí	πόλ-ε	
<i>Gen. and Loc.</i>	εὐcí-yoḥ	πολέ-οιν	
<i>D., Abl. and Instr.</i>	εὐcí-bhyām		

Plural

<i>N., V.</i>	εὐcí-ayah	πόλ-ιες, πόλ-εις	ciu-ēs
<i>Acc.</i>	εὐcí-īn	πόλ-ις, πόλ-εις	ciu-ēs
<i>Gen.</i>	εὐcí-īnām	πολ-ίων, πόλε-ων	ciui-um
<i>Dat.</i>	εὐcí-bhyaḥ		
<i>Abl.</i>	εὐcí-bhyaḥ		ciui-bus
<i>Instr.</i>	εὐcí-bhiḥ		ciui-bus
<i>Loc.</i>	εὐcí-ṣu	πόλ-ισι, πόλε-σι	

pitā 'father'

πατήρ

pater

Singular

<i>Nom.</i>	pitā	πατήρ	pater
<i>Voc.</i>	pitar	πάτερ	pater
<i>Acc.</i>	pitár-am	πατέρα	patr-em
<i>Gen.</i>	pit-úr	πατρ-ός	patr-is
<i>Dat.</i>	pit-r-é		patr-ī
<i>Abl.</i>	pit-úr		
<i>Instr.</i>	pit-r-ā		
<i>Loc.</i>	pitár-i	πατρ-ί	patr-e

	SANSKRIT	GREEK	LATIN
<i>Dual</i>			
<i>N., V. and Acc.</i>	pitár-au	πατέρ-ε	
<i>Gen. and Loc.</i>	pitṛ-óh	πατέρ-οιν	
<i>D., Abl. and Instr.</i>	pitṛ-bhyām }		
<i>Plural</i>			
<i>N., V.</i>	pitár-aḥ	πατέρ-ες	patr-ēs
<i>Acc.</i>	pitṛ-n	πατέρ-ας	patr-ēs
<i>Gen.</i>	pitṛ-nám	πατρ-ῶν	patr-um
<i>Dat.</i>	pitṛ-bhyaḥ		patri-bus
<i>Abl.</i>	pitṛ-bhyaḥ		patri-bus
<i>Instr.</i>	pitṛ-bhiḥ		
<i>Loc.</i>	pitṛ-ṣu	πατρά-σι	

The above tables will show at a glance more of the history of the Greek noun declensions than would many explanatory paragraphs without them.

The declension of the demonstrative pronouns, the relative and the article does not differ from that of the noun stems in *-ā-* and *-o-* except that the nominative and accusative singular neuter show the termination *-d* (the consonant having disappeared in Greek) seen in similar circumstances in the other languages. Thus ὅς ἦ ὅ corresponds to Skt. *yás yā yád*, τό to Skt. *tád*. This same termination occurs in the indefinite and interrogative τι, corresponding to Skt. *cíd*, Lat. *quid*. The forms τιν-ός, τιν-ί are peculiar and are thought to exist on the analogy of the accusative τίνα.

The first and second personal pronouns show the stems common to the majority of Indo-European languages. Thus ἐγώ corresponds to Eng. *I*, Lat. *ego*, ἐμέ and με to Eng. *me*, Lat. *mē*. In the case of the second person σύ¹ is for an earlier τύ, a form that actually occurs in certain dialects, and the initial *s* of the oblique cases derives from an original **ty-*. The dual of the first person is paralleled in Slavonic and Sanskrit, but the second person form has no known cognate and seems peculiar to Greek (σφώ, σφῶιν). There is confusion in the plural forms which seem to be new formations within Greek based of course upon older stems. The reflexive **sye* **se* occurs in the form ἑ, as in Lat. *sē*. The same suffix

¹ The initial σ is perhaps due to the influence of the oblique cases.

-τερ-ος is seen in the possessives ἡμέ-τερ-ος, ὑμέ-τερ-ος as in Lat. *nos-ter* and *us-ter*.

The formation of the nouns and pronouns thus shows us how closely and strictly Indo-European is the framework of the Greek language. Yet this lack of originality in Greek morphology only throws into greater relief the subtle brilliance of the manner in which the Greeks employed the forms that they inherited. The Greek mind gave new life to them, took them up and used them as instruments in the expression of higher flights of poetry and thought than any of the sister languages attained. We shall to some extent examine this process when we reach the chapter to be allotted to syntax, but before doing so we must consider the morphology of the verb.

Chapter IV

VERBS AND ADVERBS

The Greek verb has voice, mood, tense, person and number as in other Indo-European languages. Its voices are three, there being a middle voice of reflexive meaning in addition to the active and passive. The moods are four: imperative, indicative, subjunctive and optative, in addition to the infinitives and participles. As in the nouns separate forms are used for the dual as well as for the singular and plural. The meanings of the moods and tenses will be examined in a later chapter, and here only their forms will be discussed. Again it will be easier to approach along the same lines as the elementary student. The greatest apparent division that runs through the verbs is that which distinguishes those whose first person singular ends in *-μι* from those in which it ends in *-ω*. Both terminations date from Indo-European times, and more fundamental divisions are those between the various types of formation of the present stem.

A large class of verbs infixes no consonant in the present. Such are φέρ-ω, πλέ-ω (for an older *πλεφω), στέν-ω, νέμ-ω, τρέμ-ω. All these verbs have cognates in other languages, which show that they were formed originally in exactly this way. We see two of the above verbs, for example, in Lat. *ferō*, *tremō*. Another class uses reduplication to form the present. This formation also is inherited from the parent language. Examples are γίγνομ-αι corresponding to Lat. *gigno*, the root being *gen-*, seen in Greek in the aorist forms, ἔγεν-ό-μην, etc.; ἵσχω from older *σίσχω, τίκτω and πίπτω. Apart from these Greek shows very few examples of this class. A nasal was frequently inserted between the root and the present ending, and this formation comes down from ancient times, for it is found in Sanskrit in verbs such as *mṛṇāti* and in Lat. *sino*, *pono*, etc. Examples in Greek are δάκ-ν-ω, κάμ-ν-ω, τέμ-ν-ω. A similar formation is that in *-ανω* from an original *-ἡνο*.

Examples are *θηγ-αν-ω*, *ὀλισθ-αν-ω*, *ἁμαρτ-αν-ω*, *βλαστ-αν-ω*, with which we may contrast the aorists *ὠλισθον*, *ἥμαρτον*, *ἔβλαστον*. An original formation in *-n-* left only *-v-* in Greek, for the digamma disappeared with lengthening of the preceding short vowel in several dialects. Formations of this sort are *τί-ν-ω* (cf. Skt. *ci-nv-ati*), *φθί-ν-ω*, *φθά-ν-ω*, *ἰκᾶ-ν-ω*.

A frequent formation was that in *-σκ-* descending from an original *-sk-* and seen in other languages of the family. Examples are *φά-σκ-ω*, *βό-σκ-ω*, *ἄρ-έσκ-ω*, *μεθύ-σκ-ω*, *γινώ-σκ-ω*, *διδά-σκ-ω*. The last two examples illustrate the fact that reduplication is sometimes combined with this suffix. In Sanskrit it is represented by formations such as *gacchati*, in Latin as *po-sc-o*, *di-sc-o*, the latter being probably an originally reduplicated form. An iterative meaning sometimes attaches to this suffix, that is to say, it is used to imply repetition of the action of the verb. Inceptives such as *γηράσκω*, or Lat. *cresco*, are also found.

Another inherited formation is that in *-τ*,¹ most frequently appearing when the final consonant of the root is *-π*, as in *τύπτ-τ-ω*, *πέπτ-τ-ω*, *βλάπτ-τ-ω*, *κόπτ-τ-ω*, *ἄστράπτ-τ-ω*, *βάπτ-τ-ω*, *θάπτ-τ-ω*, *κρύπτ-τ-ω*. Another example is *πέκτ-τ-ω*.

Formations in *-θ-* derive from an original *-dh-* seen in forms such as Skt. *mār-dh-ati*. Examples in Greek are *πύ-θ-ω*, *βρί-θ-ω*, *νή-θ-ω*, *τελ-έθ-ω*, *φθι-νύ-θ-ω*, *μι-νύ-θ-ω*.

A favourite formation was that deriving from original *-j-*, and this was sometimes added to an infixed consonant. Examples are *μαίνομαι* from **μαν-ιο-μαι* (Skt. *manye*), *σπαίρω* from **σπαρ-ιω*, *βαίνω*, *χαίρω*, *βάλλω*, *καίω*, *στείνω*, *λεύσσω*. Verbs in *-αω* show this suffix, deriving from an original *-ā-j-*, in some cases the *-ā-* being part of the root and in others a suffix in denominative verbs (verbs derived from nouns). Of the former class are *δρῶ*, *υκῶμαι*, *ἰῶμαι*, of the latter are *τιμῶ*. Reduplication is seen in stems such as *γαργαίρω*, *λιλαίομαι*. The semi-vowel is added to the nasal in the following stems: *κλίνω*, *κρίνω*, *πλύνω*, *φαίνω*, *χαίνω*, *λαίνω*, *ὕφαινω*. Lastly an extension of the formation is seen in the

¹ A widely accepted explanation of this formation is that *πτ* derives from an older **πῑ*, the stems being thus really *-j-* presents (see below).

verbs in *-ειν*. These descend from the parent language and exhibit two chief meanings, iterative and causative. Of the former are *ῥέωμαι*, *πῶθῶ*, *στρόφῶ*, *σκοπέω*, of the latter *φοβέω*. Denominatives such as *φορέω* also belong to this class.

In all these formations Greek shows nothing original, but as in the case of the nouns has taken the structures over from the parent language. The reason for the employment of such a variety of formations is therefore an Indo-European, not a Greek, question. At one time no doubt each carried a separate meaning of its own, in some cases regarded as suitably applying only to verbs of a particular kind of meaning. Thus a formation that carried an iterative meaning, that is to say, that implied repetition of the action, could never be applied to a verb meaning 'to die', for example.

Still approaching the verbs as if from the beginning and continuing our consideration of the present indicative active, we will examine the personal endings. The first person singular in *-ω* descends direct from Indo-European times, as may be seen by comparing Gk. *φέρ-ω* with Lat. *fer-ō*. In the second and third persons there is confusion, and the history of the terminations cannot be exactly traced. The original termination of the second person was *-si*, of the third *-ti*. These are seen more clearly in the verbs in *-μι*, and it may be that the conjugation *φέρ-ω*, *-εις*, *-ει* arose in the first instance from an instinctive desire to preserve the two sorts of conjugation from confusion. If this is so, we may again deduce the existence of a certain force of logical classification working below the surface of the early Greek mind, but it would perhaps necessitate that the two forms of conjugation carried distinct meanings to the mind, and of this we have no knowledge or proof. Certainly these two terminations have a close mutual connection, the third being probably formed on the analogy of the second. In the case of the dual the first person has almost disappeared in Greek, the plural being used in its place. In the present indicative and other primary tenses the second and third person terminations were identical. The ending *-ον* corresponds to Skt. *-tam*, which however occurred only in historic tenses. Possibly therefore the endings in the

present tense were taken over from the past tenses, the original terminations having been lost. This perhaps shows that the weakening in the use of the dual, which was increasingly marked in historic Greek and culminated in its disappearance in Hellenistic times, had begun before the times of which we have extant records.

The form of the first person plural is $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ in all dialects except West Greek. In these it was $\text{-}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, a form corresponding closely with Sanskrit and Latin. The history of the termination $\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ is not clear. The second person termination $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ is possibly borrowed from the historic tenses, corresponding with Skt. *-ta*. The third person form $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota$ is for an older $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, which is regular in Doric, and can be seen at once to correspond to Skt. *bhāraṇti*, Lat. *ferunt*. It will be noticed that the various forms show vowel gradation, the first person singular and the first and third plural showing $\text{-}\omicron\text{-}$ as against $\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}$ in the other persons.

From the present stem are formed the imperfect indicative, and the present tenses of the other moods, subjunctive, optative and imperative, as also the present infinitive and present participles. The other moods are best left till later, and we will now go over the imperfect indicative in detail. The first noticeable phenomenon is the augment, shared by this tense with the aorist and pluperfect, and thus marking past time. It is not confined to Greek but was inherited from the parent language, appearing in both Aryan and Armenian. Thus we find Skt. *āgacchat* 'he went', Arm. *ekn* 'he came'. The personal endings of the imperfect also descend from Indo-European times, and are shared with the 'strong' aorist. Thus $\xi\phi\epsilon\rho\text{-}\nu$ corresponds to Skt. *ābhara-m*, $\xi\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma$ to *ābhara-s*, $\xi\phi\epsilon\rho\text{-}\epsilon$ to *ābhara-t* with disappearance of final *-t*, $\xi\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\nu$ to *ābhara-tam*, $\xi\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\nu$ to *ābhara-tām*. The West Greek dialects show $\text{-}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ as the termination of the first person plural as in the case of the present, while the other dialects again show $\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$, e.g. $\xi\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\xi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$. The second person plural $\xi\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon$ corresponds to Skt. *ābhara-ta*, and $\xi\phi\epsilon\rho\text{-}\nu$ to *ābhara-n*, both languages having lost the final *-t*. The vowel gradation between \omicron and ϵ will be noticed in this tense as in the present.

The future simple follows the present indicative in its terminations, and is formed by the insertion of *-s-* between the present stem and the endings. This *-s-* as it appears in the Greek verbs seems to be the result of a confusion between two forms, an older **-sġ-o* used to form futures and **-s-o* used in subjunctives. Thus the future of λύ-ω is λύ-σ-ω. In the case of stems whose final root consonant is a liquid or nasal the future seems to be based in formation upon an aorist subjunctive, and we find, for example, φθερῶ, βαλῶ, γαμῶ, τενῶ. Uncontracted forms also occur.

Three further indicative tenses remain, the aorist, perfect and pluperfect. In the case of the aorist there are two distinct formations. The first is the sigmatic or *-s-* aorist, sometimes called the weak aorist. This tense shows the augment followed by the verb root, in the case of verbs that have this aorist identical with that of the present. After this comes the formative *-s-* and finally the personal endings (ἐ-λυ-σ-α). In the case of stems whose final root consonant is a liquid or nasal the *-s-* disappears by phonetic rule lengthening the preceding vowel, and the result is forms such as ἔτεινα, ἐφθeira, in which εἰ=ē. The personal endings of this tense are all inherited. The first person -α derives from an original sonant -*ni*, just as that of the imperfect derives from consonantal -*m*. The remaining personal endings are identical with those of the imperfect. It will be noticed that there is no vowel gradation but that the vowel -α- occurs uniformly throughout except in the third person singular. This occurs doubtless on the analogy of the first person singular, the third person singular retaining its original -ε (from **-et*) in order to avoid confusion with the first person.

The strong aorist, that is, the aorist in -ov, occurs only in verbs that form their present stem by the addition of some suffix to the root. In verbs that do not, such as λύω, such a strong aorist would be confused with the imperfect, with which it would be identical in form. There seems to have been a close connection historically between the present and the strong aorist stems, the latter being formed from the root direct, which it is thought may once have been the case with

all presents. When the present formations had come into existence, the imperfect was formed from them and thus was differentiated from the strong aorist. Thus we have strong aorist ἔ-φυγ-ον, present φεύγ-ω, imperfect ἔ-φευγ-ον, or strong aorist ἔ-βαλ-ον, present βάλλ-ω, imperfect ἔ-βαλλ-ον. The personal endings of the strong aorist were identical with those of the imperfect, and in meaning it was identical of course with the -s- aorist, no verb showing both these forms, unless the one were an imperfect in close connection with the present stem. Thus ἔ-λυ-ον,¹ as far as form goes, might be considered a strong aorist, but seeing that the present stem adds no suffix in this case, the form naturally does duty as imperfect and the sigmatic aorist takes its place in meaning.

The main feature of the perfect tense is reduplication, though even this is very occasionally absent, as in the form οἶδα corresponding directly to Skt. *veda*. Reduplication is also an historic feature, occurring regularly in Sanskrit and in certain cases in Latin. Some perfects that derive directly from the parent language are the following: ἔφθορα,² cf. Skt. *caḥsāra*; μέμονα, cf. Lat. *memini*; γέγονα, cf. Skt. *jajāna*; δέδειχα, cf. Skt. *didēḥa*; ἔλειπον, cf. Skt. *lirēca*; πέφρυγα, cf. Skt. *bubhoja*; πέπληγα, cf. Goth. *faiflōk*. In all these cases the personal endings are added to the final consonant of the verbal stem. In the case of stems ending in a vowel (such as λύ-ω) an unvoiced velar (κ) was inserted between the stem and the personal endings (e.g. λέ-λυ-κ-α). Later this was extended to stems ending in liquids or nasals and we find forms such as ἔφθορ-κ-α,² ἡγγελ-κ-α, πέ-φργ-κ-α. Later still we find the -κ- substituted for the final consonant in some forms, examples of which are πέπτεικα from πείθω, ἔσπτεικα² from σπένδω. These are formed on the analogy of the -s- aorists. The origin of the -κ- in these forms as the mark of the perfect is unknown. It probably arose on the analogy of forms where an unvoiced guttural happened to be the final consonant of the root, e.g. ξοικα. It is unnecessary to postulate

¹ The forms ἐκέλευον and ἐκαθεζόμεν are actually used in Attic as aorists.

² The augment here takes the place of reduplication owing to the difficulty of reduplicating initial double consonants.

a foreign origin for it. In some cases the perfect is formed (in addition to reduplication) by the aspiration of the final consonant of the stem. Examples are τέτροφα, κέκλοφα, τέτριφα, ἐνήνοχα. These forms probably arose in the first instance by analogy from forms such as γέγραφα, where the aspirate belonged to the root. A feature of Greek reduplication is that the reduplicating vowel is always -ε-. This is contrary to the case in Sanskrit and Latin. Aspirates are deaspirated in reduplication.

The personal endings of the perfect indicative active are the same as those of the -s- aorist with two exceptions. No vowel gradation occurs, the vowel being -α- throughout except in the third person singular where, as in the -s- aorist, it is -ε-. The two instances in which the terminations differ from those of the -s- aorist are the third person dual and the third person plural. The former follows the present, λελύκ-α-τον like λύ-ε-τον as contrasted with ἔλυσ-ά-την, while the latter shows the primary ending -nti, again grouping itself with the present, in contrast to the historic ending -nt of the aorist. This termination preceded by the vowel -α- naturally results in the form -ᾱσι, as in the present it results in -ουσι.

The pluperfect, a tense used comparatively rarely, adds the augment to its reduplication and also adds a suffix -es-, which may be similar in origin to Lat. -is-, ἐλελύκη. Its personal endings are historic, and do not need detailed explanation. The future perfect also is an obvious combination of the perfect and future formations.

Passing along the paradigm to the imperative we find two tenses, present and aorist. The present imperative affixes its personal endings to the present stem of the verb, λύ-ε, φεύγ-ε. The second person singular termination is -ε, deriving from Indo-European times, as may be seen by comparing Skt. *bhāra* with Gk. φέρε and the normal termination in Latin. The third person singular ends in -τω, corresponding to Skt. -tād and Lat. -to and deriving from an original *-tōd supposed with probability to be a demonstrative particle. The second person dual of the imperative λύετον is an ancient subjunctive, or injunctive as it should be more technically

called. The second person plural is identical with that of the present indicative, while the third person *λυόντων* arose by a sort of process of analogy from an early *λυόντω*. Various dialects show differing imperative forms. In the case of the aorist imperative, if the aorist is 'strong', the personal endings including the preceding vowel are identical with those of the present, the stem alone differing from that of the latter. The difference can be easily perceived in the case, for example, of the verb *βάλλω*:

Pres. Imperat.	Aor. Imperat.
βάλλε	βάλε
βαλλέτω	βαλέτω
βαλλόντων	βαλόντων

In the case of verbs that employ the sigmatic aorist the second singular aorist imperative ends in *-σον*. Its origin is thought to be from an infinitive, the imperative and infinitive being to some extent intertwined in meaning. The remaining personal endings are identical with those of the present and strong aorist imperatives, the vowel *-α-* as in the 'weak' aorist indicative being retained throughout.

The subjunctive shows three tenses, present, aorist and perfect, formed from the three stems respectively. Thus:

Pres. Subj.	Aor. Subj.	Perf. Subj.
λύω	λύσω	λελύκω
λύης	λύσης	λελύκης
λύη	λύση	λελύκη
βάλλω	βάλω	βεβλήκω
βάλλης	βάλης	βεβλήκης
βάλλη	βάλη	βεβλήκη

The personal endings of the subjunctive correspond to those of the present indicative except for the substitution of the long vowels *η* and *ω* for the short *ε* and *ο* of the indicative. This formation derived from Indo-European times. Homeric and other dialects show a subjunctive with short vowels, also

ancient but ousted by the forms regular in Attic because of the difficulty of distinguishing it from the indicative.

The suffix that distinguished the optative in verbs of the type of λύω, φέρω was -οι-, possibly resulting from a long -ī-, which was the optative mood-suffix, added to the -ο- of the tense stem-suffix. This formation was ancient, as is seen by comparing the second person φέροις with Goth. *batrais* and Skt. *bhāres*. The termination -μι of the first person singular was a new formation, existing probably on the analogy of the verbs in -μι. The ancient form was -α, deriving from an original -η, and this is found on an Arcadian inscription. An occasional form, even in Attic, was -ν, deriving from an original -m. The remaining terminations are those regular in historic tenses. The third person singular has lost by the action of phonetic change its original -t, as in the case of the indicative and subjunctive, and the third person plural -εν similarly derives from an older *-ent. This termination is seen in the old Latin form *sient*, later *sint*. The 'strong' aorist optative needs no comment. In suffix and terminations it is identical with the present optative, these being added to the aorist stem instead of to the present. In the case of the -s- aorist optative (λύσαιμι, etc.) the forms are of late origin and confined to Greek.

We now reach the verb infinite. The present infinitive in -ειν is presumably a locative of what was once a verbal substantive. It might derive from an older *-esen, *-ejen, or *-eyen. The first is perhaps the most probable. Another view would connect the Greek forms with Latin infinitives in -ere, both deriving from an older *-esi to which in Greek a -ν has been added on the analogy of the infinitives in -μεν which are also locatives. The future infinitive is identical in termination with the present. The 'strong' aorist infinitive also ends in -ειν but is differently accented, e.g. βαλεῖν contrasted with βόλλειν. The aorist infinitive in -σαι is original and is a dative form. It apparently corresponds with the Sanskrit infinitive termination -se and the Latin passives in -rī. This form in -s- was not originally confined in meaning to an aorist sense but became so in Greek probably because its formation

with the sibilant naturally connected it in the mind with the sigmatic aorist. The perfect infinitive was formed by the addition of the termination *-εναι* to the perfect stem. This was possibly originally a dative but its history is rather obscure. The termination is confined to the Arcado-Cyprian and Ionic-Attic dialects. The formation of the participles is simple and quite clear. Their stem, except in the case of the perfect, is *-nt-*. Thus *λυο-ντ-*, *λυ-σ-ο-ντ-*, *φερο-ντ-* correspond to Lat. *fer-ent-*, Greek showing the strong grade (original *-ont-*) throughout and Latin the weak (original *-nt-*). The 'weak' aorist formation is *λυ-σα-ντ-*. The perfect participle is formed by the addition of the suffix **-μος*, **-μωτ-* to the perfect stem, thus *ελδ[φ]ώς*, *λελυκ[φ]ώς*.

The middle and passive voices coincide except in the future and aorist tenses. The tense formations of the middle, and of the passive where it is identical with the middle, are the same as those of the active, so that the difference between active and middle consists only of the personal endings.

The first person singular ending in primary tenses is *-μαι*. It is not original, and appears to have spread from the verbs in *-μι* to all verbs.

The original termination of the second person singular is **-sai*. This occurs regularly after a consonant in forms such as *λέλειψαι* (cf. Skt. *ririkṣé*), *γέγραψαι*. Between vowels the sigma disappeared by phonetic rule, leaving the forms *φέσαι*, *φέρη*, corresponding to Skt. *bhārase*. The Attic forms such as *λύει*, *φέρει* are irregular, and it is suggested that they may have arisen in order to distinguish the indicative from the subjunctive. Possibly they were adapted from the third person singular of the active with which they were made identical on the analogy of the identity of the corresponding terminations in the subjunctive. Forms such as *δίδουσαι*, *δέδουσαι*, *κέσαι*, *δύνουσαι* arose on the analogy of the forms such as those quoted above in which the termination follows a consonant.

The third person termination was *-ται*. In the present this was original, as is shown by Sanskrit forms such as *āste*, *dhatté*, *tanuté*, *bhārate*. In the perfect it appears to have been adapted from the present.

The dual termination is -σθον, seen in λύεσθον, λέλυσθον, etc. It is possibly connected with an original second person plural seen in Skt. -*dhvam*, but as in the case of the active its history is obscure. There is clearly an analogical connection between the terminations of active and middle.

The first person plural termination was -μεθα. This was original, but does not correspond exactly to Skt. -*mahe*, which shows a stronger grade in the final vowel. The form -μεσθα occurring in the poets is perhaps formed on the analogy of the dual. It is not original.

The second person termination -σθι also arose after the separation of Greek from the parent stock. The Sanskrit form is -*dhve*, which would descend from a form giving -θα in Greek. The vowel has probably been influenced by that of the active form -τε.

The third person termination -νται was original. Forms such as φέρονται correspond to Skt. *bhāraṇte*.

The terminations of the historic tenses differ from those of the primary, though the general scheme is of course the same. The first person ending is -μην. This is peculiar to Greek. It has certainly an analogical connection with the primary termination. Conceivably it is influenced by the dual. The second person termination is -σο. The intervocalic sigma disappeared leaving the neighbouring vowels -εο which contracted to -ου. We thus find the forms ἐβάλλου, ἐβάλου. The termination -σο is paralleled in Avestan and Latin. The third singular termination is -το, which is original, and bears the same relation to the primary -ται as the second person -σο to -σαι. The third person dual is -σθην, giving -σθον, -σθην as the secondary dual terminations in place of the primary -σθον, just as the active shows primary -τον, secondary -των, -την. The first and second person plural terminations are the same as the primary. The third person plural is -ντο, original, and corresponding to the third person singular. The terminations are added to the vowel -α- in the case of the sigmatic aorist, as in the active, and similarly to the stems of the subjunctive and optative as in the active.

The passive differs from the middle in the case of the future

and aorist. The 'strong' aorist passive termination was -ην. The personal endings were active in form—ἐφάνην, ἐφάνης, ἐφάνη. These forms were originally intransitives and thus easily developed a passive meaning. They were needed to fill a gap, the parent Indo-European language having possessed no regular passive forms. Each language or group of languages developed its own. Verbs which showed a 'weak' or sigmatic aorist in the active formed their aorist passive by the insertion of -θ- before the -η- of the 'strong' aorist forms. This termination -θην, -θης, -θη is thought to have arisen from the second person singular, an original middle form of which ended in *-thās*, seen in Skt. *-thās*. By analogy the consonant spread to the remaining persons as if it were part of a tense stem, and a paradigm was formed of subjunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive and participle. This is the nature of passive forms such as ἐλύθην, λύθητι, λυθῶ, λυθείην, λυθῆναι, λυθείς. The passive futures such as λυθήσομαι were probably formed on the analogy of the aorist formations.

The personal endings of the subjunctive were primary, those of the optative historic, a fact that corresponds to the syntactical usage of these moods. Thus we have φέρω-μαι, but φερόι-μην. The imperative middle is distinguished in the third person singular and plural by the formations in -σθω, -σθων, which are not original, but formed on the analogy of the relationship of the second person plural indicative (e.g. λύεσθε) to the same person in the active (λύετε). Thus λυέσθω is formed to stand in the same relationship to the active λυέτω. The second person singular present and 'strong' aorist imperative in -ου derives by phonetic rule from older **-eso*, and is injunctive in origin. The second person singular termination of the sigmatic aorist imperative middle is -σai. Its history is unknown. The form may have been developed from the aorist infinitive active. The termination in the case of the aorist passive was -θι. This is original, corresponding to Skt. *-dhi*, *-hi* and occurring also in forms such as ἴθι, ἴσθι. In the case of the 'weak' aorist the second aspirate is de-aspirated in accordance with phonetic rule, λύθητι resulting from **λύθηθι*.

The middle and passive infinitive has the termination -σθαι. This is probably inherited and corresponds to the Sanskrit infinitives in *-dhyai*, or *-dhai*. It was probably at one time a dative. Thus we have forms such as λύε-σθαι, λύσα-σθαι, λελύ-σθαι, βάλεσθαι, βαλέσθαι. The aorist passive infinitive, βαλῆναι, λυθῆναι, is like an active in form, and identical in termination with perfect infinitives active such as εἰδέναι, λελυκέναι. This form also was originally a dative.

The middle participles were formed throughout with the suffix -μενος, as was noticed in the last chapter. Forms are as follows: λυόμενος, λυσόμενος, λυσάμενος, λελυμένος, βαλλόμενος, βαλομένος. The aorist passive participles were formed with the suffix **-ent*, appearing as λυθ-είς, λυθ-εῖ-σα, λυθ-έν, λυθ-έντ-ος, βαλ-είς, etc.

The contracted verbs need no detailed examination. The vowel of the stem contracts with that of the tense stem. Thus τιμα-ετε becomes τιμαῖτε, φιλε-ετε becomes φιλεῖτε and δηλο-ετε becomes δηλοῦτε. The future forms, φιλήσω, etc., are probably adapted to the sigmatic aorist, φιλήσω being to ἐφίλησα what λύσω is to ἔλυσα.

The second main type of Greek verb is that of the verbs in -μι. The usual examples given to the elementary student are those of τίθημι, ἵστημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι. This form of verb is ancient. The Greek verb 'to be' εἰμί belongs to this class. The personal endings of the present indicative are as follows: the first is -μι. This is found also in Sanskrit, where it is the regular termination, having ousted the form in *-ō* just as in Latin the latter has ousted the former. Thus εἰ-μί corresponds to Skt. *ās-mi*, δίδωμι to Skt. *dādā-mi*. The second person termination is identical with that of the verbs in -ω, and we have τίθης, δίδως, etc. The Attic form εἰ 'thou art' is in contrast with forms in other dialects, εἰς or εἰς. The third person termination is -τι. This by regular phonetic change becomes in Attic -σι. Thus we find τίθησι, etc., for older τίθητι, etc. The remaining terminations are identical with those of the verbs in -ω except the third person plural, τιθέασι, διδόασι, etc., which derive from an original *-anti*. These verbs show vowel gradation between the singular on

the one hand and the dual and plural on the other. In their present paradigm the four verbs mentioned above also show reduplication. This is ancient, as we have already seen, and occurs also in forms such as δι-δάσκω or Lat. *gi-gno*.

The verbs in -μι show different optative forms from those in -ω. The forms εἶην, τιθείην, διδοίην, etc., are ancient, the first corresponding to Skt. *syām* and Lat. *siem*.¹ The imperatives, whose second person is in -ς, such as θές, δός, etc., seem again to be the remains of a vanished mood known as the injunctive, whose functions were taken over by the subjunctive or imperative. The second person, like that of the indicative and subjunctive, terminates in -ς. The infinitive of the verbs in -μι is a dative terminating in -ναι, εἶναι, τιθέναι, διδόναι, and the participle stem is -αντ-, -εντ-, -οντ- according to the vowel of the root.

This summary of the formation of the Greek verbal system illustrates how closely it is derived from the parent Indo-European stock. No foreign influence is traceable in it. The system proved in time to be too unwieldy. By the Hellenistic period the dual had disappeared both in verbs and nouns and the use of the optative was much contracted. Inevitable simplification was at work, and in its interest one cannot regret the disappearance of forms whose existence proved unnecessary for the intelligible and unambiguous expression of thought. The optative however seems never to have been out of place in classical literature, especially in poetry. It is perhaps only a personal judgment, but there seems to cling around the optative as used by the great dramatists a certain dignity and perhaps a certain aloofness from the realism of the indicative that rendered it singularly helpful to authors in producing high-toned artistic effect. If the poet had not had the optative at his disposal could we have found so expressive a line as the following?

οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λῆξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ Aesch. *Agam.* 620.

'I could not tell false tidings so as to seem good', remarks the herald when asked for news of Menelaus. The optative im-

¹ This form was later replaced by *sim*, analogically created from the first person plural.

presses on one's mind a hint of something evil to come, that might indeed have been capable of different expression, but which emphasises the living usefulness of the mood in the hands of the dramatist. Again, the chorus is addressing Cassandra and gently advising her to bow to her fate:

ἐντὸς δ' ἀλοῦσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων
 πείθοι' ἄν, εἰ πείθοι' ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως Aesch. *Agam.* 1048-9.

Here the optative seems again to impart a delicacy and richness to the sentence, that could scarcely have failed to be absent if the forms had not been available. A shade of meaning also which the future simple could scarcely imply is expressed by the use of the optative in the apodosis of a conditional sentence such as in the following line from Euripides' *Hippolytus*:

ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ τῶν κακῶν ἔχεις,
 ἀνθρῶπος οὔσα κάρτα γ' εὖ πράξεις ἄν Eur. *Hipp.* 471-2.

We may claim that the use illustrated by these examples shows the instinctive resourcefulness by which a set of forms that most languages might have found cumbrous or superfluous was employed to express shades of meaning of which less delicately balanced minds might have been scarcely aware. And the same may be said with regard to all the forms of the somewhat unwieldy Indo-European verbal conjugation inherited by the Greeks and turned to what may without exaggeration be called artistic uses.

In concluding this chapter we shall look at the Greek adverbs. Morphologically, as will be apparent, their place is with the nouns, but as their most frequent use is to modify verbs it has seemed best to leave them till now. The language inherited its system of formation of adverbs from the parent Indo-European. They are generally of three kinds from a morphological point of view, those formed from the cases of nouns or pronouns, secondly those with special adverbial terminations, and thirdly compounds. All original cases except the vocative had been employed in the formation of adverbs. The nominative is found in adverbs such as the following: πύξ, ἀναμίξ, ἄλις, μόλις. Adverbs formed from

nominatives occur in the Germanic, Balto-Slavonic, Aryan and Latin languages. Examples of such adverbs in Latin are *uersus, rursus, secus, deinceps, recens, uix*. The accusative gives among others the following adverbs in Greek: ἀκμήν, δωρεάν, ὄναρ, δήν, πλήν, and also the frequent and familiar μέγα, πολύ, πρῶτον, ὕστερον, αὔριον, σήμερον, μακράν. Examples in Latin are *partim, uicem*. A special set of adverbs formed from accusatives and rather frequent in Greek are those in -δον, -δα, -δην, such as σχεδόν, κρύβδα, κρύβδην. The genitive gives adverbs of time and place or of quality and value, such as ἡμέρας, ἀριστεράς, δεξιᾶς, ποῦ, αὐτοῦ, πανταχοῦ, πολλοῦ. In certain dialects we find adverbial formations in what was originally an ablative rather than in the genitive as elsewhere. Examples are Locrian and Cretan ὧ, ὅπω. In Sanskrit familiar adverbs such as *kásmāt* 'why?' *tásmāt* 'for that reason' are ablatives, while in Latin the normal adverbial formations in -ō are original ablatives, such as *subito*. The dative gives adverbs of place such as χαμαί, adverbs of instrumental meaning such as σπουδῇ, κομιδῇ, and of manner such as ταύτῃ, πῇ, ἰδίᾳ, κοινῇ, διπλῇ, πεζῇ. This case gives many adverbs in the Aryan languages. Adverbs formed from the locative are frequent in all languages of the Indo-European family. In Greek we find adverbs of place such as οἴκοι, ἴσθμοι, ἐκεῖ, θύρασι, ποῖ, οἷ, of time such as ἤρι, αἰεῖ; and of manner such as διπλεῖ (Dor.), πανδημεῖ. The instrumental case used adverbially is also frequent throughout the various languages. Instrumentals used as adverbs of place are ἄνω, κάτω, ἔξω, εἴσω, ὀπίσω, while πῶ is a similar adverb of time.

Other adverbs have ancient terminations whose origin is obscure but which have for the most part parallels in other languages of the family. Such are αὐτόθι, αὐθι; πόθεν, ἄλλοθεν, ἔξωθεν; ἐνθα, αὐτι; Dorian ὅκα, τόκα, πόκα; πόσε, ἄλλοσε; ἐντός, ἐκτός (cf. Lat. *intus*); ἐκάς; δίχα, τρίχα and other numeral adverbs; ὄφρα; δῖς, τρίς (cf. Lat. *bis*, Skt. *dvīs*, *tris*), χωρίς.

Finally there are the adverbs composed of compounds either of a preposition with a case, such as παραχρῆμα,

κατεναντίον, προτοῦ, ἐνώπα, ἐκποδών, or of a case or adverb with a particle, such as πολλάκι, οἶκαδε, θύραζε, οὐχί, πάνυ.

It will thus be seen that the adverbs were formed by a simple grammatical process which Greek shared with other members of the linguistic family.

Chapter V

SYNTAX. NOUNS

The principles of Greek syntax are not difficult for the English student to understand, because they conform to that grammatical framework into which he is accustomed to fit his own language. Each sentence normally contains a verb and a subject, and if the verb is transitive an object. Adjectives qualify the noun and adverbs modify the verb. The noun has number, gender and case, the verb has voice, mood, number and person with present, future and past tense. Prepositions express the relationship of nouns to the sentence or to another noun. Sentences are generally linked by conjunctions, and subordinate sentences are introduced by appropriate conjunctions also.

The most appreciable difference between Greek and modern English is that, as in the case of all Indo-European languages, until the modern stage of the history of some of them, the former expresses grammatical relationship far more frequently by means of inflexion. In the case of the modern languages, English being in advance of all of them in this respect, inflexions have largely disappeared owing to the action of phonetic decay and their place is taken by auxiliaries, an increased use of prepositions, and a fixed order of words in the sentence. Take the Greek sentence ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπάταξε τὸν κύνα. This may be equally expressed as ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν κύνα ἐπάταξεν or even τὸν κύνα ἐπάταξεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, because it is clear from the inflexions which is the subject and which the object of the verb. In English we are obliged to say 'The man struck the dog'. Under certain circumstances in verse the sentence might have such a form as 'The dog the man struck' if the subject and object were clearly distinguishable from the context, but under no circumstances could the sentence be expressed as 'The dog struck the man', for these words mean the opposite to what it is intended to convey.

The order alone enables the subject to be distinguished from the object in such an English sentence. The question of the advantage of one or other mode of expression is here irrelevant. The answer perhaps is that the inflexional method has advantages for literature in providing scope for variety, while the modern method is distinctly more suitable for the purposes of everyday speech. In any case it will be seen that the difference between the nominative and the accusative or objective cases in English except in the pronouns is one merely of name, and corresponds to no inflexional reality. It is the result of grammatical definitions that date from days when the inflexional difference had not disappeared or that belong to Latin or Greek. But for the understanding of Latin or Greek syntax this grammatical framework is of value because it is to be applied to languages in which its divisions correspond to visible facts, and it is only necessary to bear in mind that in Greek inflexion usually takes the place of the English fixed word order to understand what is the main difference in syntactical principle between the two languages.

We will look first at the noun. The question of grammatical gender has been discussed in an earlier chapter. That of number needs only two remarks. In Greek nouns, as we have already seen, a dual number existed side by side with the singular and plural, though its use was growing less frequent and by Hellenistic times it had disappeared. It was inherited from the parent language, and was employed usually to express two objects that naturally form a pair, such as hands, feet or eyes. The other fact worthy of notice is that in Greek a neuter plural subject as a rule took a singular verb. In Homer this is not universal, in Attic it is practically so. The phenomenon is inherited from the parent language and occasionally took place in Sanskrit. It indicates that the neuter plural was originally regarded as a collective, possibly akin to the feminine singulars in $-\alpha$. In Hellenistic Greek the plural verb became more common and in modern Greek has quite superseded the singular.

The various uses of the cases form the basis of the syntax of the noun. The nominative, as in English, was the case of

the subject of the sentence. It was also used predicatively after the verb 'to be' and similar verbs. A neat way of expressing the predicative in Greek was by the omission of the verb 'to be' and the placing of the predicate before the definite article of the subject or after the substantive of the subject. Thus ὁ ἄνθρωπος καλός or καλὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος are both complete sentences in themselves and mean 'the man is good'. On the other hand the words ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος do not constitute a sentence and merely mean 'the good man'. It is interesting that the employment of word order as a definite mode of expression akin to inflexion is in such cases to a certain extent anticipated. The nominative was regarded as the normal or basic noun case, although morphologically the vocative had more claim to be so considered. In lists of objects or nouns the nominative was used. All these uses descended from Indo-European times.

The vocative is the case of address and is often preceded by the interjection ὦ. If the form of address is complex, or if more than one person or thing enter into it, the vocative is sometimes merged with the nominative. An example of this is:

Ζεῦ πάτερ . . . ἥελιός τε Hom. II. iii. 277.

This is a natural construction. Words qualifying or in apposition to the vocative are usually placed in the vocative also, thus: Ἀτρεΐδη, Μενέλαε διοτρεφεές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν.

The various uses of the accusative in Greek were also derived from the parent language, being paralleled in other languages of the family. Its basic use was as the object of a transitive verb: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπάταξε τὸν κύνα. If the action is expressed in the passive, the accusative becomes the nominative as subject of the verb. Various other shades of expression easily arose out of this dominant use. These have been classified by grammarians but were not regarded as being in separate compartments by those who used them. Speech arises spontaneously by the modification of existing modes of expression in order to meet new necessities. When fresh modes of expression become crystallised as habits they are ready for grammatical classification into frameworks of

speech. The genius and peculiarities of a language consist in its adaptability to such new modes and the creation of such modes to be as facile and intelligible as possible. They can be best appreciated by tracing historically, as far as possible, these modifications of inherited expression. The accusative is also naturally used when the verb is followed by a noun of cognate meaning with itself, not strictly the object in the ordinary sense of a transitive verb. An English example is the expression 'to play the game'. In Greek we have μάχην μάχεσθαι, ὄρκον ὀμνύναι, a use paralleled in Latin and in other languages. Two accusatives sometimes occur after a single verb as in the sentence τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν. A further simple extension of the use and idea of the accusative as the object of the verb is seen in its use with verbs of motion. This appears in extant writings only in poetry, as in the Homeric examples:

κίση δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε *Il.* i. 317;
βέλος δ' ἴσυνεν Ἀθήνη ρίνα *Od.* i. 332.

In prose, and presumably also in everyday speech at least from classical times onwards, the accusative had to be preceded by a preposition to express the goal of such motion, the preposition defining more exactly the nature and extent of the motion, and standing towards the verb expressing the motion in the relationship of an adverb qualifying it more precisely. The prepositions arose indeed out of adverbs, the forms being mostly adverbs originally and frequently retaining their use as pure adverbs. The association of these prepositions with verbs to form the compound verbs is an important feature of the Greek language. In the sentence, for example, ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν the verb expresses the idea of motion, the preposition defines the extent of the motion (thus in meaning modifying the verb), while the accusative expresses the goal of the motion. The phrase consisting of preposition followed by case was susceptible of various extensions of meaning often in an abstract direction. The accusative was used after the following prepositions originally in all cases to express the goal of motion: πρὸς meaning 'to', 'towards', often with an inference of hostility:

δῖωκε πρὸς πόλιν Hom. *Il.* xxi. 4;
 ὅσοι ναίουσι πρὸς ἡῷ Od. xiii. 240,

that is to say, 'facing towards the east'. The idea of hostility is clearly expressed in such a use as πόλεμον πρὸς τινα ποιῆσθαι, and the phrase συμμαχίαν πρὸς τινα ποιῆσθαι is perhaps an instinctive echo of the former. Originally the person with whom the alliance is made was thought of as the goal of the action. In Hellenistic Greek the meaning of πρὸς with the accusative had come to be that of 'at' or 'with', the conception of motion being often lost. This development must have been due to the fact that the whole phrase came to be regarded as a unit, the separate conception of the accusative being submerged. The phrase πρὸς ταῦτα 'with regard to this' and kindred expressions treat the accusative as the object or goal of consideration, a development that it is not difficult to see can well have arisen from its basic concrete meaning.

The preposition εἰς (older ἐνς), a form of ἐν, further modifies the extent of the motion, having the meaning of 'into'. This is clear in the Homeric example:

βέλος δ' εἰς ἐγκέφαλον δῦ *Il.* viii. 85.

Often the meaning overlaps that of πρὸς and is scarcely more than 'to'. In Hellenistic and later times this preposition quite took the place of πρὸς, which as we have seen developed with the accusative a meaning of rest rather than motion. The phrase εἰς τὴν πόλιν exactly corresponds to the Latin *in urbem*. No abstract meaning seems to have developed from the combination of this preposition with an accusative, unless we regard the phrase εἰς Δία 'in honour of Zeus' as abstract.

A preposition inherited from the parent language was ἐπὶ, corresponding to Skt. *āpi* and Lat. *ob*. Its original meaning seems to have been 'on' or 'over'. Thus in Hom. *Od.* i. 183, we find

πλῆκων ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον.

Here the sea is not the goal of the motion, but the accusative perhaps expresses the fact that motion was taking place. Similar is the sense of the phrase

θυμός δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐλύσθη *Il.* xxiii. 393.

The accusative is however used in the same way as it is used with the preposition *πρός* in expressions such as

οἱ δ' ἐφέροντο κακῇ ἀνέμοιο θυέλλῃ
αὐτὶς ἐπ' Αἰολίην νῆσον Hom. *Od.* x. 54;

or

βῆ δ' ὄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα Il. ii. 18.

This usage of the accusative with *ἐπί* is easily extended from the literal and concrete to a semi-abstract meaning of purpose. Thus:

λαοὶ μὲν σκίδνασθ' ἐπὶ ἔργα ἑκάστος Hom. *Od.* ii. 252;

or

πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένη Thuc. iii. 105.

The accusative with *ἐπί* thus contains a certain idea of *purpose* absent from its use with *πρός* or *εἰς*. The first of these uses is closely paralleled in Avestan *a'hi imam zəm* 'over the whole earth'. The last use seems to have been a development within Greek itself. It would appear a simple extension of the meaning of the phrase, but yet no other Indo-European language exactly developed it. If we wished to express in Latin *πέμπουσι ἐπὶ Δημοσθένην* we should be obliged, in order to bring out the full meaning, to say *qui cum Demosthene colloquantur mittunt*. The contrast brings out the neatness and economy of the Greek construction.

The earliest uses of the accusative with the preposition *μετά* seem to have been similar to that with *πρός* and other prepositions expressing 'motion to'. Thus:

ἵπποις αἰσσων ὥς τ' αἰγυπὸς μετὰ χῆνας Hom. *Il.* xvii. 460.

This use is parallel to that of the cognate *miß* in Gothic and other Germanic languages. Later a sense of 'after' appeared, deriving, it appears, from the frequent combination of the preposition with verbs meaning 'to follow' or having a similar sense. This was the normal meaning of this preposition with the accusative in Attic. The case is thus again lost sight of in the phrase, for there is no idea of the goal of motion in the accusative in an expression such as *μετὰ ταῦτα*. It is obvious that the accusative is appropriate to express the goal or object that is followed, and this, as we have seen, was the starting-point of this class of expression. The preposition has

the sense of 'during' in such a phrase as μεθ' ἡμέραν, this being an extension of an original meaning of the preposition, which was 'between', 'among'. The origin of the accusative in this connection was perhaps the idea of 'motion along or through'.

The accusative is also used with the preposition παρά, corresponding in form and meaning with Goth. *faúr* in the sense 'along'. Thus:

σὺ δὲ Ζάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας δένδρεα καίε Hom. II. xxi. 337.

Gothic *faúr marein* corresponds exactly to Greek παρά τὴν θάλασσαν. Xenophon also has the following: ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη. These usages, especially the last, contain no noticeable idea of motion, and seem to be even farther from the basic sense of the accusative than does an expression such as ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον πλέων. Probably the idea of motion alone is expressed vaguely and generally by the accusative in the expression παρά τὴν θάλασσαν and the phrase παρά τὴν ὁδὸν 'by the roadside' is an extension of this. There may originally have been an underlying idea of directing the attention to an object that lay alongside. Extensions of the meaning 'alongside of' are those of comparison, such as

αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν

Thuc. I. 23;

παρὰ μικρὸν τίθεσθαι;

a causal sense, such as

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν Demosth. Κατὰ Φιλίππου A, 11;

the meaning 'besides', 'against', 'contrary to', seen in παρά δόξαν, παρά τοὺς νόμους. Sometimes in Homer and in Hellenistic Greek the accusative following παρά has its normal sense, e.g.

ἐς θρόνον ἴζε παρ' Ἀλκίνοον Od. viii. 469.

The accusative is used after the preposition ὑπὸ, whose basic meaning is 'under', to denote motion to under a thing. This meaning is parallel to that of the cognate prepositions Goth. *uf*, Skt. *upa*, Lat. *sub*, Ir. *fo*. A typical example comes from Xenophon:

οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας Anab. I. x. 14.

A similar usage to that of *παρά* occurs, in which the idea of *motion to* has been merged in that of *rest*, in sentences such as the following:

οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κόμαις ἡλίζοντο
Xen. *Anab.* vii. iv. 5.

A semi-abstract meaning is seen in such a sentence as the following from Thucydides:

τὴν Σικελίαν . . . ὑπ' αὐτοῦς εἶναι vi. 86.

Here the meaning is 'under their authority'. A temporal meaning is also found, e.g. ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον meaning 'about the same time', the connecting sense being presumably 'up to', that is 'near the same time', akin in meaning to Lat. *sub noctem*.

Various developments of meaning took place in the case of the preposition *κατά* combined with the accusative, all of which appear to be confined to Greek. Other languages show that the root meaning of the preposition was probably 'along', and the foundation usage in Greek was that of *κατὰ ῥέον* 'along the stream', i.e. 'down stream'. Exactly similar are the following examples:

πρὸτι ἄστρῳ δῆται
λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν Hom. *Il.* xv. 680;
αἱ μὲν νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσι Hdt. iii. 109;

or the frequent *κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν*. The preposition is frequently used with a temporal meaning, *κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον* 'at that time'. A distributive use is seen in the expressions *κατ' ἔθνη*, *κατ' ἄνδρα*, *καθ' ἡμέραν*, and in the following the meaning 'in accordance with': *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, *οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον*. At the basis of all these senses is that of 'along'.

The accusative with the preposition *ἀνά* is again an inheritance from Indo-European times, in which the developments of meaning almost certainly took place. The basic sense of the accusative is clearly visible in the sentence

ἀνά νῦτα θεοῦσα Hom. *Il.* xiii. 547,

or in the expression *ἀνά ῥέον* 'up stream'. The meaning 'throughout' occurs in such an expression as *ἀν' Ἑλλάδα*

which can be easily imagined as an original accusative of 'motion to'. From this developed a distributive use, parallel to that of κατά, and we find expressions such as

ἐποίησαντο ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Xen. *Anab.* iii. iv. 21.

These two prepositions formed almost a pair in the mind and must have influenced each other analogically towards this distributive sense. The meaning 'up' attaching to this preposition seems confined to Greek and to be a special development within that language. The distributive use appears in the cognate Gothic form, for example: *sibun sinþam ana dag* 'seven times a day'.

The preposition ὑπέρ is of Indo-European origin, corresponding to Eng. *over*, Skt. *upāri*, Lat. *super*. The stem is a continuation of that of ὑπό. The meaning is 'over', 'beyond', seen in the following examples:

ἡὼς φαινομένη . . . ὑπεῖρ ἅλα τ' ἡίονας τε Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 13;
 μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδὶ Παρνασίῳ ὑπὲρ κλιτῶν Soph. *Antig.* 1144;
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον Plat. *Laus*, 839 D.

Motion is clearly visible as the underlying sense in these cases.

The same basic meaning of the accusative is brought out in its use with περί, the sense of which is 'round'. The following examples will illustrate it:

θεῶ ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην
 ἐξείης ἔστησαν εὐδμητον περί βωμόν Hom. *Il.* i. 448;
 ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περί Πελοπόννησον Thuc. ii. 23.

The sense is easily transferred to time, e.g.

καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν ἡμέρας περί τέσσαρας
 καὶ δέκα Thuc. i. 117.

The preposition ἀμφί with cognates in Germanic, Aryan and Italic has in Greek much the same meaning as περί, the original sense probably being 'on either side of'. Thus:

Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα
 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται Hom. *Il.* ii. 461;

ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας 'about midday'. An example from Pindar shows the meaning 'throughout':

ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοντι ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν *Olymp.* i. 97.

Finally we find the accusative following the preposition διὰ whose stem seems to be connected with that of Lat. *dis-*. The meaning is 'through', and in an abstract sense 'through' in the sense of 'on account of'. Examples are:

ἦλθεν ὄνειρος
ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα Hom. *Il.* ii. 57;

διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν
Xen. *Anab.* iv. v. 15;

εἰ λέγονται Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ Περικλέα βελτίους γεγόνενα
Plat. *Gorg.* 515 E.

In addition to these principal prepositions there are two of rather infrequent use, ἔστε meaning 'up to' and ὥς meaning 'to', which naturally combine with an accusative.

It will have been noticed, as we have reviewed the use of the accusative with the various prepositions, that in addition to the great basic sense of the accusative recurring throughout, that of the goal of motion, another appears, which we might call the idea of duration. This is most clearly and simply brought out in the use with διὰ—ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα. It is seen in the expression of Pindar, λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοντον, in the distributive uses with ἀνὰ and κατὰ, clearly again in the use with παρὰ, and corresponds with the Latin use of the accusative of duration of time. In this sense also of course it appears frequently in Greek.

Lastly we have that use of the accusative known as the Accusative of Respect. This is identical with one sense of the use with the preposition πρὸς, but did not arise from this, as it dates back to Indo-European times, occurring also in Aryan and Latin. This accusative occurs very frequently in the case of the noun ὄνομα, and with nouns denoting dimension such as μήκος, μέγεθος. Homeric examples are

ἐξ Ἰθάκης γένος εἰμί Od. xv. 267,

and the well-known πόδας ὥκους. As this use of the accusative arose in pre-Greek times it is irrelevant to discuss its origin. It is clearly akin to the use of a second accusative after such verbs as βάλλω, πλήσσω. In *Il.* i. 240, for example, we have τὸν . . . πλῆξ' αὔχενα, where it is easy to see that the second accusative is in a transitional state between the direct object

of a verb and an accusative of respect. It is from the accusative of respect that most of the adverbs which were originally accusatives derive.

The number and variety of senses in which the accusative and other cases were used give rise to the question whether such uses were regarded as identical or separate by the mind of the speakers. It is impossible to give a certain answer, but we may say with probability that the latter was true. Two reasons may be given for thinking so. Firstly the great majority of such uses were inherited from the parent language, and it is therefore probable that each generation of speakers took them wholesale from its predecessor, not always perhaps realising that they could be classified together under a single case. No speaker thinks what case he is to put a noun into; many speakers are unaware that such a thing as case exists. Grammarians, who arrive at a late stage of linguistic development, classify speech. Every noun that bore the relationship of direct object to a verb was given a certain termination by the speakers, but they did this automatically, out of fixed habit acquired in early youth. Nouns having other relationships in the sentence were given the same termination, but until a grammatical framework was devised and taught in the schools, no one thought of classifying such forms together under the single name of the accusative case. Again a Greek frequently said πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. He also frequently said πρὸς ταῦτα, but he would not naturally or instinctively classify these two expressions under a single head. This would be largely because the one use occurred as a rule with a different vocabulary from the other. He would on the other hand regard as identical the status of the noun in such cases as εἰς τὸν οἶκον, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ τὸ ζυγόν, etc. A grammatical classification is artificial and is liable to be thrown out of gear by the change constantly in progress in a living language, but is useful in laying bare the orderly working of the speech instinct of the human mind, and in providing the necessary basis for the historical study of a given language.

We will now turn to the genitive and its uses. Speaking

quite generally this case may be said to stand in the same relationship to the noun as the accusative to the verb. A noun is followed by a genitive, a verb by an accusative. Any noun standing in direct relationship to another noun is in the genitive case. The simplest, perhaps the basic, use of the genitive is the partitive, naturally following nouns of quantity or number and others of like sense, such as ταύρων ἑκατόμβη, πάντων ἄριστος, τίς ἀνθρώπων. The subjective and objective genitive exist in Greek as in English. The expression 'the love of the father', for example, may be either according to context. It may refer to the love of the father for the child, subjective genitive, or to the love felt by the child for the father, in which case it is objective genitive. The same applies to the Greek expression ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς φιλία. The objective genitive corresponds in sense to the object of the verb. Thus the expression φόβος τῶν πολεμίων is identical in meaning with φοβέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. A genitive that may fairly be described as a partitive follows certain classes of verbs in place of the normal accusative. Such are verbs of *eating, drinking, giving or taking*. Examples are: πιεῖν οἴνου, γεῦσθαι δίστου, ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. The genitive implies that originally at any rate the action was thought of as extending to only a part of the object, *some* wine being drunk. Verbs of *touching* and *handling* are also followed by the genitive, the sense being akin to that of the genitive of place. Examples are: ἥψατο γούνων; ἐκέλευσεν ὀπλῶν ἀπτεσθαι. A similar genitive follows verbs of *desire* or *reaching after*, such as ὀρέγομαι, ἱεμαι, ἐπιθυμῶ, as seen in the Homeric οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο. Here the genitive represents the object of desire. Verbs of *perception* are also followed by the genitive, such as αἰσθάνομαι, ἀκούω, πυνθάνομαι, ὁσφραίνομαι. Examples are seen in such sentences as τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε; μνήσατο Αἰγισθοῖο; εἴ μου μανθάνεις. In the case of verbs of hearing if the verb is used in the sense of understanding a fact the accusative follows, the genitive being only the object in the case of hearing a sound. Verbs of *ruling* are followed by the genitive. Examples of this use are the following:

ὃς μέγα πάντων

* Ἀργείων κραττεῖ,

or Xenophon's

τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν ἐκράτει.

Verbs of *emotion* are also followed by the genitive, such as θαυμάζειν, ἡδεσθαι, e.g.

πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀγαμαίγῃ σου.

In all these cases the genitive is near to the partitive genitive in sense and may have originated from it. Each use was inherited by Greek from the parent language, as each occurs in other members of the Indo-European family. In Hellenistic times the use of the genitive after most of the classes of verbs mentioned weakened, its place in many cases being taken by the accusative, which as the case normally following the verb naturally tended to extend its scope at the expense of the less regular uses. In other cases a preposition came to be inserted before the genitive, a tendency that was in accord with the general trend of Indo-European linguistic development.

Two uses of the genitive that are akin are those that express quality, as in the phrase τόλμης πρόσωπον, and material, such as κόπη ἐλέφαντος, or δαῖτ' ἀγαθὴν κρειῶν τε καὶ οἴνου. This latter construction occurs also in Germanic, Slavonic, Aryan, Armenian, Latin and Irish. Compare for example the Latin expression *lactis imber defluxit*. Of similar origin and sense are the genitives used with verbs of *filling* and the genitive of price. Examples of the former are the Homeric πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας and, from Demosthenes, ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν τριήρων. The latter is illustrated by the following sentences:

ἀργυρίου πρίασθαι ἢ ἀποδόσθαι ἵππον, ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων διηγγυημένοι.

Both uses occur throughout the language family. We may compare Latin *impletus aquae purae* and *tanti emit*. An important usage of the genitive, also original and in evidence in other languages of the family, is that which expresses point of time. In many cases this is partitive in origin, the time at which the action takes place, expressed by the genitive, being regarded as a part or section. Thus:

τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ταυτησί... τὴν θύραν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πάνυ σφόδρα ἐκρούε.

Again we find the fixed adverbial expressions: ἡοῦς, ἡμέρας, etc. The usage is inherited from Indo-European times. Another original use of the genitive is that known as the genitive of *cause*. Examples are:

ἡὼς τοι προφέρει μὲν ὁδοῦ, προφέρει δὲ καὶ ἔργου, ἡμῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀμα προκοπτόντων ἐκείνοις.

To this class of genitive belong those after verbs of *punishing* or *condemning*, as in the sentences:

ἦ τ' ἐφάμην τείσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον κακότητος, διώξομαι σε δειλίας.

We may compare the same mode of expression as used by Caesar: *quas sui quisque commodi fecerat*.

We now come to the uses of the genitive with prepositions. A partitive sense was probably the starting-point of the use after the preposition διὰ, which had the meaning of 'through the midst'. Thus:

ἀντικρὺς δὲ δι' ὤμου χάλκεον ἔγχος
ἦλθεν.

Developments of this first use were those of time (διὰ βίου, δι' ὀλίγου) and expressions such as διὰ σπουδῆς, διὰ τάχους. These uses are not original but were developed by the Greeks.

The genitive following the preposition ὑπὸ passed through a variety of shades of meaning. The original force was 'under' and is seen in Homeric usage:

οὐ γάρ πω ἐτέπαπτο ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης.

This usage continued throughout classical times, as may be seen from Plato's sentence:

πηγὴ ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ρεῖ.

The sense of the genitive is partitive. An abstract sense naturally developed and occurred in such expressions as ὑπ' ἀνάγκης and it was possibly from the sense 'under the compulsion of' that there arose first an instrumental sense and finally that of the agent, ὑπὸ followed by the genitive being the normal mode of expressing the agent after passive verbs. The use of this preposition with the genitive is confined to Greek, its cognates in other languages nearly always governing the accusative only. The variety of prepositional usage de-

veloped in Greek, expressing delicate shades of meaning that to some extent overlapped, is in itself a striking illustration of the activity and subtlety of the Greek mind.

The preposition *ἀντί* was used as a rule only with the genitive. Its earliest meaning was 'in front of', as in an inscription from Gortyn: *ἀντί ματύρων* 'in the presence of witnesses'. From this developed the sense 'for', 'instead of':

σοι δὲ θεοὶ τῶνδ' ἀντί χάριν μενοεικέα δοῖεν;
καὶ μείζον' ὅστις ἀντί τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας
φίλον νομίζει.

There is also a temporal sense *ἀντί νυκτός* having the meaning of 'during the night', the genitive here showing much the same meaning as when it stands alone in a temporal sense. The origin of these usages was probably partitive.

The genitive with *ἀμφί* is used in apparently an identical sense as it is with *περί*. The earliest sense was concrete, 'around':

μάχεσθον
πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης.

The abstract sense 'about', 'concerning' developed as in the case of *περί*:

τοιᾶδ' ἀμφι σῆς λέγω
παιδὸς θανούσης.

The use of the genitive with *περί* is closely similar to that with *ἀμφί*. The earliest meaning was 'around', as in the Homeric sentence:

ἡ δ' αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περί σπείους γλαφυροῖο
ἡμερὶς ἡβώωσα *Od.* v. 68.

It is probably through its use with verbs of *fighting* that the classical sense of 'concerning' developed. To fight 'around' a person or thing easily came to have the meaning of fighting 'for' or 'concerning' him or it.

Considerable extension of meaning also took place in the case of the genitive following the preposition *μετά*. The earliest meaning seems to have been 'on the side of', as in the sentence *μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο*. The partitive origin of the genitive can be detected here and the development of meaning to the classical 'with' is easily imaginable. At first it was used only

with plurals but extended to the singular in regular use, Thucydides having for example: μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν. The use of this preposition with the genitive is confined to Greek.

Following πρὸς we find a genitive of place, the meaning being 'before', 'in face of', 'near'. Examples are:

αὐτὸς δὲ ποτὶ πτόλιος πέτετ' αἰεὶ Hom. *Il.* xxii. 198;

ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγούμενῳ τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω Xen. *Anab.* ii. ii. 4.

A specialised usage occurred with verbs of swearing and such like: πρὸς θεῶν 'by the gods', the underlying sense being 'I say it in the presence of the gods' or 'before the gods'.

The genitive with ἐπὶ has both a locative and a temporal meaning, and the distinction in sense between the use of the genitive with this preposition and that of the other two cases is so fine as to be often indistinguishable. Examples of its use are:

σπῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ μελῆς χολκογλώχινος ἔρεισθεις Hom. *Il.* xxii. 225;

ἔγχος μὲν τόδε κείται ἐπὶ χθονός *Il.* xx. 345.

In temporal use are the familiar classical phrases such as ἐπὶ σχολῆς, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας. The use of this preposition with the genitive was inherited but much extended in Greek.

The genitive was also used with κατὰ, though again in a sense scarcely distinguishable from that of the accusative. Examples are:

Πατρόκλῳ δ' αὖτ' ἀμβροσίην καὶ νέκταρ ἐρυθρὸν
στάξε κατὰ ῥινῶν Hom. *Il.* xix. 39;

κατὰ χθονὸς δμματα πήξας *Il.* iii. 216.

The meaning of the preposition ὑπέρ when followed by a genitive was 'over'. From this developed the sense 'on behalf of', 'for', by an intelligible transference of thought. To die over one's friend meant to die for him. The preposition 'over' is used similarly in English in the sense of 'about' in such phrases as 'to worry *over* something'. Examples of genitives with ὑπέρ are as follows:

σπῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Hom. *Il.* ii. 20;

ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Thuc. ii. 48;

Φοῖβον θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην

ρέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν

Hom. *Il.* i. 444;

καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθυήσκειν

Isocrates, iv. 77;

θαρρεῖν ἢ δεδιέναι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς

Plat. *Phaedo*, 78 B.

The earlier sense is paralleled in Sanskrit as in the expression: *dakṣiṇasyā bhruva upari* 'over the right eyebrow'. The secondary sense was developed within the Greek language.

In addition to the various original senses attaching to the genitive case the Greek genitive assimilated those that properly belonged to the ablative, a form that had disappeared from the language. Even as early as the period before the various Indo-European languages had separated from each other, the *o*-stems alone retained a distinct form for the ablative singular. In most languages the ablative and instrumental ran together. In Greek the ablative functions were transferred to the genitive. This affected by analogy the singular of the *o*-stems and also the plural forms of all nouns. If for instance one used ἀνδρός as an ablative, one naturally used the plural ἀνδρῶν in the same sense, dropping the distinct ablative plural form. Moreover the meaning of the ablative often approached that of the genitive, the idea of separation expressed by prepositions such as 'from', etc., or after verbs of *going* being not far distant from the partitive idea. A piece *of* an object is for instance often taken *from* it.

Those functions of the Greek genitive derived from the original ablative may be divided into two sections, the genitives used after certain verbs generally expressing separation, and secondly the genitive (originally ablative) of comparison. The following classes of verbs are followed by the Greek genitive that has taken the place of an ablative: verbs of *going*, *departing*, as in such sentences as

Οὐλύμπιοιο κατήλθομεν

Hom. *Il.* xx. 125;

καὶ γῆς ὅποιας ἦλθον, εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖς

Soph. *O.C.* 572;

ἐχεσθαι τινος.

An identical construction occurs in Sanskrit and in Latin¹ in Plautus, Ennius and other pre-classical writers, a preposition being later introduced in Latin in all such cases except in

¹ In Latin, the ablative, not the genitive, case is of course employed.

those of towns. Verbs of *bereaving* or *depriving* take the same construction, such as *χαρίζω*, *χηρεύω*. A Homeric example is the following:

οὐνεκά με στερέσαι τῆς ληϊδος ἤβηλε πάσης *Od.* xiii. 262.

The following is taken from Xenophon:

φίλαν κτησάμενος ἀρχων οὐδέν ἐτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων *Hier.* x. 1.

In Latin¹ the same construction follows such verbs as *uaco*, *careo*, *ego*, *privo*, *orbo*, *spolio*. Verbs of *origin* are naturally followed by the ablative-genitive. Thus:

οἱ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο *Hom. Il.* v. 637;

ὦν δ' ἔβλασταν οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν *Soph. Trach.* 401.

In Latin¹ the same construction occurs after *natus*, *ortus*, etc. The construction is the same after verbs expressing the *fashioning* of an object, as in the Homeric

αἱ δὲ βόες χρυσοῖο τετεύχματο.

Exactly similar is Vergil's use of the ablative in phrases such as *duplex gemmis auroque corona*. Another group of similar meaning is that of verbs expressing *release*, *deliverance*, *separation*. Thus Herodotus (v. 62) has:

τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι,

and Sophocles:

σώσας μὲν ἐχθρῶν τήνδε Καδμείαν χθόνα *Antig.* 1162.

Compare the ablative after such Latin verbs as *soluo*, *leuo*, *libero*. Verbs of *taking* are followed by the same construction to express the indirect object. Thus:

κύπελλον ἐδέξατο ἥς ἀλόχοιο *Hom. Il.* xxiv. 305;

ἀν ἧ θέλουσα πάντ' ἐμοῦ κομίζεται *Soph. O.T.* 580;

ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν *Plat. Apol.* 17 B.

The same construction follows Latin¹ verbs such as *capio*, *sumo*, *peto*. Finally there are the verbs *to exceed* or *fall short of*. Examples are as follows:

τόσσον δὲ Μενέλαος ἀμύμονος Ἀντιλόχοιο

λείπετο *Hom. Il.* xxiii. 522;

ἡμῶν λειφθέντες *Xen. Anab.* vii. vii. 31;

τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφόρομεν *Thuc.* i. 81.

¹ In Latin the ablative, not the genitive, case is of course employed.

This genitive is often reinforced by a preposition. The simple idea of 'from' is expressed by ἀπό cognate with Lat. *ab*, as in the following sentences:

ἔνα μῆνα μένων ἀπὸ ἧς ἀλόχοιο Hom. *Il.* ii. 292;
ἐπράχθη τε οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον Thuc. i. 17.

In both these cases the meaning of the preposition is 'apart from'. The preposition followed by the genitive has a temporal meaning in the expression ἀφ' οὗ 'since'. The preposition ἐκ, ἐξ, corresponding to Slavonic *iz* and Latin *ex*, *e*, answers, as regards motion *from* a point, to the position of the preposition *elis* as regards motion *to*. The meaning is 'out of', as the following examples make clear:

ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος Hom. *Il.* i. 194;
ἐξ Ἰδης καθορῶν *Il.* iv. 337.

A temporal meaning occurs in such phrases as ἐκ τούτου, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, and a semi-abstract sense—'as a result of'—in such as the following:

καὶ τὰ πρὶν γὰρ ἐκ λόγων καλῶν
κακῶς ἔπραξα Soph. *Philoc.* 1268.

The preposition παρὰ often means scarcely more than does ἀπό, though it may be said to have what might be called a more intimate meaning—'from the presence of', 'from the side of'. The following examples seem to bring out this sense:

φάσγανον ὅξυ ἔρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ Hom. *Il.* i. 190;
παρὰ δὲ βασιλείῳ πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπῆλθον Xen. *Anab.* i. ix. 29;

and the frequent phrases πεμφθῆναι ὁρ μαθεῖν παρὰ τινος. The cognates of this preposition in the other languages seem never to be used with the ablative.

The preposition κατὰ followed by the ablative-genitive retains its literal sense of 'down from'. Here are two examples from Homer and Xenophon:

εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθας *Il.* xviii. 128;
καὶ ἀμφοτέροι φῶχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον
Anab. iv. vii. 14.

The meaning of πρὸς followed by the ablative-genitive is

similar to that of ἀπό and παρά, the specific sense being 'from the direction of', as in the Homeric sentence:

ἴκετ' ἑμὸν δῶ
ἢ πρὸς ἡοίων ἢ ἐσπερίων ἀνθρώπων *Od.* viii. 29.

The rather vaguer sense of this preposition as compared with that of ἀπό or παρά facilitated its use in phrases of a secondary or semi-abstract meaning, as by Herodotus in the passage:

γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα
vii. 99.

In this last the meaning is of course 'on the father's side', literally 'from the father'. In the following phrase from Xenophon—ὁμολογείται πρὸς πάντων—the preposition by a transition easy to follow comes almost to express the agent.

A rather more extensive usage is seen in the case of the preposition πρό, which corresponds phonetically to Latin *pro* which is also followed by the ablative. The root meaning is 'before', 'in front of', and the succeeding ablative (genitive) shows that the phrase is regarded as expressing motion originating with the object expressed by the noun. Thus πρὸ πυλῶν means 'in front of the gates', 'starting from them'. Identical is the sense of Thucydides' sentence:

ἐπὶ Μινώων τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων *iii.* 51.

From this grew the meaning 'on behalf of', for to fight 'in front of' a thing meant to fight 'for' it. Thus Xenophon has:

ἀνδρα . . . πρὸ ὕμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα *Anab.* vii. vi. 36.

The sense 'on behalf of' develops into 'in the name of' and this by a further short step into 'instead of'. This is the sense of the following line from Sophocles:

ἐπεὶ πρέπων ἔφυς
πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν *O.T.* 10.

'In the name of', 'instead of' may be expressed in some aspects as 'equivalent to', and this is the sense of the preposition when used with nouns denoting value: πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιέσθαι; αἰρεῖσθαι τι πρὸ τινοῦ. Exactly similar is the Latin sense in such phrases as *pro consule* or the Plautine *pro insano respondit mihi*. The correspondence¹ of usage between Greek

¹ It is equally possible that the development was independent in each language.

and Latin points to the conclusion that the developments here indicated in the scope of the preposition's meaning took place in the time of the parent language before the separation of the various branches. In Greek the preposition with the ablative-genitive has also a temporal use, closely corresponding to the local. Thus we find frequently in classical Greek expressions such as *πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου*, 'before death'.

Finally we have the preposition *ὑπό*. This is used with the ablative-genitive, just as is *κατά*, with the literal meaning of 'from under', a Homeric example being seen in

οἱ δ' ἵππους μὲν ἔλυσαν ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ.

Again Xenophon has

λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης *Anab.* vi. iv. 25.

The use of the ablative to express comparison was a development of Indo-European times. It occurs in Slavonic, Aryan and Italic as well as Greek. The sense of the ablative is much the same as that which occurs with the preposition *πρό*, the comparison being regarded as distance, the object with which the comparison is made being the starting-point. Thus *μᾶλλον ἑτέρων* 'more than others' meant originally 'more starting from others'. A well-known Homeric example of the genitive of comparison is the following:

οὐ τοι ἔγωγε

ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι *Od.* ix. 27.

We may compare a Sanskrit sentence such as *pāṇīyān āgoḍh gardabhāḥ* 'an ass is worse than, inferior to, a horse'; or Latin *te maior*.

Only a single case form remains to be dealt with. But this, as we have seen, represents a syncretism of three original cases, dative, locative and instrumental. In the first and second declensions the form is dative, in the third locative. This case inherits the functions of the original three. The dative proper may be said generally speaking to be the case of the *person interested*. Thus it is used as the *indirect object* of such verbs as require one. Such are verbs of *giving* and *saying*, such as *δίδωμι*, *παρέχω*, *διανέμω*, *λέγω*, *λαλῶ*, *ἐπιστέλλω*, *δελνυμι*. The same construction occurs in Germanic, Balto-

Slavonic, Aryan, Armenian and Italic. Verbs of *helping* or *serving* take the same dative. Such are ἀρήγω, χραισμῶ, λυσιτελῶ, βοηθῶ, ἀλέξω, ἀμύνω. Similar are verbs expressing *friendly* or *hostile relationship* towards another such as εὖνοῶ, κοτῶ, χολοῦμαι, ὀργίζομαι, φθονῶ; and verbs expressing *belief* or *obedience* such as πείθομαι, πιστεύω, ὑπακούω. A similar dative is used with verbs *to belong* such as ὑπάρχω, γίγνεσθαι and with the verb 'to be' in sentences such as

τρεις δέ μοι εἰσι θυγατρες Hom. II. ix. 144.

Verbs of *bringing* or *sending* are followed in poetry by a dative of the indirect object, as in the Homeric sentence:

πέλειαί
τρήρωνες, ταί τ' ἀμβροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν Od. xii. 63;
or

ψυχὰς Ἀϊδὶ προΐαψεν II. i. 3.

This usage is replaced in prose by a preposition followed by the accusative, but is ancient, the same construction occurring in Germanic, Balto-Slavonic, Aryan and Latin (*Romanis de muro manus tendebant; demittit Orco; iaculatus puppibus ignis*). Very similar in sense are verbs of *approaching*, and this construction continues throughout classical prose. An example comes from Plato's *Symposium*:

ὁμοιον ὁμοίῳ ἐεὶ πελάζει 195 B.

Finally we have verbs of *yielding* or *giving way* such as εἴκω, χωρῶ. A prose example comes from Isocrates:

χρὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας παραχωρῆσαι.

This construction with all the classes of verbs enumerated is ancient and occurs in all or most of the other languages in each case. It represents the primary meaning of the dative.

Often the dative with a similar meaning stands in relationship rather to the whole sentence than to a single verb as indirect object. Here we may distinguish four different senses, all easily understood to be the developments or aspects of the single root idea already mentioned. All are ancient and not confined to Greek, being regularly employed in other languages of the family. The first is the well-known *dative of advantage*, recognised in such sentences as:

τοῖσι δὲ βοῦν ἱέρυσεν Hom. *Il.* vii. 314;

τοὺς Θρᾷκας τοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ὑπερῆσαντας Thuc. vii. 29;

στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ Xen. *Hell.* iv. iii. 21.

In Sanskrit we find exactly the same construction: *ātmane 'gnē cinute* 'he builds the fire-altar for himself'; and in Latin: *mi quidem esurio, non tibi; Roscius praedia coluit aliis; is sibi legationem suscepit.* Closely allied is the construction known as the *ethic dative*. This is the name given to a usage of the dative of the first and second personal pronouns, which adds emphasis or peremptoriness to the sentence by implying an interest on the part of the person addressed in the subject spoken of. The dative is sometimes untranslatable, sometimes is best rendered by such expressions as 'let me tell you', 'what do you think of that?' even, 'lo and behold'. The ethic dative is a neater and less obtrusive way of saying 'Put that in your pipe and smoke it', to use a conversational modern phrase. The following examples will illustrate the use:

μηδέ μοι οὕτω θύνε διὰ προμάχων Hom. *Il.* v. 249;

τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστί ἡ τυραννίς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Hdt. v. 92.

In the first of these sentences the dative may perhaps best be translated 'please', in the second, 'let me tell you'. The usage is obviously in harmony with the dative of advantage. The construction in the first sentence expresses the thought, 'it is to my advantage if you do not . . .', in the second, 'it is to your advantage to understand what I am saying'. A similar—though of course not historically identical construction—may be seen in such an English exclamation as, 'There's an explosion for you!' In German we find similar sentences: 'das ist mir eine böse Geschichte'; and also in Latin: *tu mihi istius audaciam defendis?* or *quid mihi Celsus agit?*

In Sanskrit and Latin as well as Greek we find also the *dative of the agent*, that is to say, a dative without preposition used after passive verbs to express what is more usually expressed by a preposition followed by the ablative or ablative-genitive. In all these languages its most common use is with past participles or verbal adjectives. This was the origin of the usage, and it is not only intelligible but natural. ποιητέον

ἔμοι meant originally 'there-is-something-to-be-done for me'. Similar is the English expression, 'there is something for me to do'. From the past participle passive the usage spread to the perfect passive, which was often an auxiliary partly made up of the passive participle, and from this it spread again occasionally to the present indicative. Examples in Greek are the following:

οὐ σφι περισπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ 'Ελλάς ἀπολλυμένη Hdt. vii. 168;

περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τοσαῦτά μοι εἰρήσθω Lysias, xxiv. 4;

κἂν τοῦτο νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται Xen. Anab. i. viii. 12.

Herodotus provides a usage of the dative with a present indicative passive that falls on the borderline between a dative of the agent and a dative of advantage:

μήκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται i. 72.

In Sanskrit the same construction appears: *sākhībhya īdyah* 'to be honoured by friends'; and also in Latin: *hoc tibi faciendum est; emptus mihi est pretio*.

Finally there is the dative of the person from whose standpoint the action is viewed or takes place. The examples will show that this is an intelligible development of the dative of advantage. Thus:

οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι θεοῖς ἐλιτήμενός ἐστιν Hom. Od. iv. 807.

The meaning here is 'in the sight of the gods', the gods being the interested persons. The sense approaches that of the ablative-genitive used after the preposition πρό and elsewhere (see p. 122), but the original sense was 'for the gods', 'to the interest of the gods'. Similarly we find in Sophocles:

ἀνάξισι γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔστε δυστυχεῖν O.C. 1446.

A typical example comes from Thucydides:

Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον i. 24.

Identical is the construction in Cæsar's sentence: *quod est oppidum primum Thessaliae uenientibus ab Epiro*; and in the words put by Ennius into the mouth of Hannibal: *hostem qui feriet mihi erit Carthaginiensis*.

It will be seen that when compared with the genitive the meaning attaching to the dative is much more definite and narrow in scope. The genitive covers almost every relationship

between one noun and another, possessive and partitive, subjective, objective and others less easily defined. The dative never strays far from its basic idea of the person interested or for whose advantage or disadvantage the action of the verb or sentence is taken. No preposition is used with the true dative. Its meaning, as expressed, needs no additional definition.

The datives of the third declension were, as we have seen, in reality locatives, and we are now to discuss the usages of the ancient locative, fused in Greek with the dative.¹ The basic meaning of the original locative was that of 'rest at' a place, among persons, or at a given time. One may suppose that in the time before the separation of the languages the locative normally expressed this idea without the aid of a preposition. It did so in Homeric Greek, but in Attic prose very infrequently. In classical Greek indeed the employment of a preposition may be said to be a distinguishing mark of the use of the original locative from that of the original dative. Homeric examples of the use of the locative expressing place without a preposition are seen in the following phrases:

αἰθέρι ναίων *Il.* iv. 166;
 Ἑλλάδι οἰκία ναίων *Il.* xvi. 595;
 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων *Il.* i. 45.

Similarly in Sanskrit we find *své dhame* 'in his own house'; *diví* 'in heaven'; *párvate* 'on the mountain'. The locative was from pre-Greek times extended and more clearly defined by the use of accompanying prepositions, the most frequent of which was naturally ἐν meaning 'in'. Examples are scarcely necessary, but here is one from Homer:

ἐνθα μὲν ἐν φύλλοισι . . . εὖδον παννύχιος *Od.* vii. 287.

We see the same preposition and construction in Latin, e.g. *in urbe habitat*, and in Gothic, e.g. *ligith in garda* 'he is lying in the house'. In poetry we find ἀνά with the meaning 'upon' used with this case, e.g.

εὖδε πατήρ ἀνά Γαργάρω ἄκρῳ *Hom. Il.* xiv. 353;
 ἦξει . . . ἀνά ναυσί *Eur. Iph. in Aulis*, 754.

¹ Except in the case of a few survivals.

ἐμοί meant originally 'there-is-something-to-be-done *for me*'. Similar is the English expression, 'there is something *for me* to do'. From the past participle passive the usage spread to the perfect passive, which was often an auxiliary partly made up of the passive participle, and from this it spread again occasionally to the present indicative. Examples in Greek are the following:

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ἐνθα μὲν ἐν φύλλοισι . . . εὖδον παννύχιος *Od.* vii. 287.

We see the same preposition and construction in Latin, e.g. *in urbe habitat*, and in Gothic, e.g. *ligith in garda* 'he is lying in the house'. In poetry we find *ἀνά* with the meaning 'upon' used with this case, e.g.

εὖδε πατήρ ἀνά Γαργάρω ἄκρῳ *Hom. Il.* xiv. 353;

ἦξει . . . ἀνά ναυσί *Eur. Iph. in Aulis*, 754.

¹ Except in the case of a few survivals.

This corresponds to the Gothic use: *ana airthai* 'on earth'. The preposition ἐπί has much the same sense.

καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ (Hom. *Il.* vi. 473)

is a typical example, or again Thucydides (i. 56) provides us with another:

οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης.

The corresponding Sanskrit preposition *ápi* is used similarly with the locative. In the case of πρὸς the meaning is rather 'near' than 'at' or 'on', originally perhaps 'lying towards', 'facing'. Thus:

δοῦπον ἔκουσε ποτὶ σπιλάδεσσι θαλάσσης Hom. *Od.* v. 401;

τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ

Xen. *Anab.* i. viii. 4.

An abstract use has developed in the case of this preposition in the phrase πρὸς τούτοις 'in addition to this', meaning perhaps originally 'added on to this'. Slightly more definite but closely allied is the sense of παρὰ with the locative, 'by the side of':

αὐτοῦ δὲ παρὰ κλισίῃσιν ἔμειναν Hom. *Il.* xv. 656.

The preposition περί adds to the locative its basic sense of 'around', 'about', as the following sentences show:

χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐσαι Hom. *Il.* ii. 416;

περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας Hdt. vii. 61.

Naturally also the preposition ὑπὸ 'under' appears with this case. The following are examples:

αἱ γὰρ ὑπ' ἡελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι

ναυετάουσι πόλεις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων Hom. *Il.* iv. 44;

τί ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχεις ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ; Plat. *Phaedrus*, 288 D.

Other Indo-European languages show an identical construction. Compare in Sanskrit: *úpa sūrye* 'near the sun'; or in Latin: *sub monte, sub moenibus, sub regno*; or in Gothic: *swaswe magun uf skadau is fuglos himinis gabauan* 'so that the birds of the air may dwell beneath its shadow'.

The second original sense of the locative was that in which it was used of a number of persons *among* whom something

takes place. The use without a preposition does not extend later than Homer. The following are examples:

δου κράτος ἔσκε μέγιστον
πᾶσιν Κυκλώπεσσι *Od.* i. 70.

The meaning is 'among all the Cyclopes'. In the following example the usages with and without a preposition are seen side by side:

τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀτρεΐδην θῆκε Ζεὺς ἡματι κείνῳ
ἐκπρεπέ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἔξοχον ἡρώεσσιν *Il.* ii. 483.

This usage may be reinforced by the prepositions ἐν, παρά, ἀμφί, περί and ὑπό, as the following examples illustrate:

ἔσκε δ' ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι Ποδῆς *Il.* xvii. 575;
ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἔρέω *Il.* ix. 528;
ὅς ῥ' ἦειδε παρὰ μνηστῆρσιν *Od.* i. 154;
τοσοῦτ' ἄνθρωπος παρὰ πᾶσι νομίζεται Demosthenes;
Ἀχαιοί
ἔστασαν ἀμφί Μενoitιάδῃ ἓνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες *Il.* xvii. 267;
τοῖον πυλῶρόν φύλακα Τεῦκρον ἀμφί σοι
λείψω *Soph. Ajax*, 562;
οἱ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν *Isocrates*, iv. 16.

In the case of παρά we find an extension of meaning whereby the preposition is used with a person in the singular in the sense of 'at the house of', equivalent to Latin *apud* and French *chez*. Thus:

ναίε δὲ πᾶρ Πριάμῳ *Il.* xiii. 176;
πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων *Xen. Anab.* i. v. 16.

Thirdly we find the locative used very naturally in a temporal sense parallel to that in which it is used with regard to place. It may be reinforced by the prepositions ἐν and ἐπὶ, but more often it stands alone. The dominant idea is naturally that of *time at which*. This usage is familiar in such expressions as τῇδε τῇ νυκτί, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει, ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. An example from Thucydides gives us the usage with and without a preposition:

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ οὐχ ἦσαν τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν *I.* 44.

The difference in meaning is that whereas the first day was regarded in itself as a point of time, in the second case it was necessary to refer to a particular point of time *during* or *within the scope of* the second day. The use of ἐπί with the locative in a temporal sense is more infrequent. The following is an example from Homer:

ὅς τις ἐπ' ἡματι τῷδε ἑκὼν μεθήσεται μάχεσθαι II. XIII. 234.

In other languages we find the same use of the locative. Compare Skt. *usāsi* 'in the morning', Lith. *szimė metė* 'this year', Lat. *uesperi*, *postridie*.

The last of the original cases in use in the parent language was the instrumental. This also coalesced with the dative and locative in Greek. The root meaning of the instrumental is that of the *means* by which, or the *instrument* with which, an action is done, and the sense is extended by a natural train of thought to include the *circumstances accompanying* the action or the *cause* of it. Thus from the first the instrumental showed a certain abstract sense which perhaps rendered it one of the most convenient for use in the developed Greek language. This case was not reinforced by any preposition apart from the preposition σύν, which was used with this case only, unless some of the uses of ἐπί which have been mentioned under the locative were originally uses of the instrumental. As regards meaning they may well have been so, but having regard to the absence of prepositions generally in the case of the instrumental it is more natural to think of them as locatives.

The first sense in which the instrumental is used, derived by inheritance from the parent language, is that known as *associative*, or the instrumental of the attendant or accompanying circumstances. This will be easily recognised as parallel to the Latin ablatives with or without the preposition *cum*. It occurs also in Germanic, Balto-Slavonic, Aryan and Armenian. Examples in Greek are as follows:

τὴν ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐνθ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι πέμψτε νέεσθαι Hom. *Od.* iv. 8;

οἱ δ' ἤλθον πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ Thuc. i. 102;

ἑσβαλὼν στρατῷ Πελοποννησίων Thuc. ii. 21;

ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἱππικῷ καὶ πελταστικῷ

Xen. *Anab.* vii. vi. 29.

The associative use was assisted or emphasised by the preposition σύν. Thus:

λόχον δ' ἵναί τε σύν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν Hom. *Il.* i. 227;

βασιλεὺς σύν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται Xen. *Anab.* i. viii. 1.

In classical Greek this preposition with the dative (instrumental) was to a large extent ousted by μετά with the genitive. It was retained in certain phrases, notably σύν θεοῖς, which meant 'with the help of the gods', emphasising the original instrumental use and providing a link between the associative and more strictly instrumental usages. In Hellenistic Greek σύν came once more into its own and recovered much ground lost previously to μετά. The usage without a preposition occurs in Sanskrit in such sentences as: *devó devébhir á gamat* 'may the god come with the gods'; and of course in Latin,¹ e.g. *Caesar omnibus copiis proficiscitur*.

Secondly comes the instrumental of *attendant circumstances*. Examples are:

ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος

μυχηῶ τε στοναχῇ τε Hom. *Od.* xxiv. 416;

οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες πολλῇ βοῇ καὶ θορύβῳ προσέκειντο

Thuc. iv. 127;

κραυγῇ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν Xen. *Anab.* i. vii. 4.

Here belong also such familiar expressions as τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ. The same construction occurs in most of the other languages of the family. Compare such a sentence in Latin as *animo audaci in medium proripit sese* or the expression *hoc modo*.

The more concrete sense of the instrumental, that was possibly its original foundation-meaning, is that of the *means* or *instrument* by which an action takes place. Again this is represented throughout practically the whole of the language family. The following are Greek examples:

ἵμασεν μάστιγι Hom. *Od.* vi. 316;

ἐνθεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο . . .

ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ *Il.* vii. 473.

The dative, originally instrumental, is sometimes used with verbs of *filling*, *preparing*, etc., instead of the partitive genitive:

δάκρυσι πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα πλησθέν Thuc. vii. 75;

¹ In Latin the original instrumental and the ablative cases have coalesced.

μυκτηροκόμοις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι Aesch. *Seven against Thebes*, 464;
 αὶ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι Hom. *Od.* xix. 563.

In other languages the same usage, as we have said, appears. Compare in Gothic: *waîrkjands swesaim handum thiuth* 'doing good with his own hands'; and in Latin: *manibus diuellere; fossam aqua complere*.

Closely allied to this usage is that which expresses the *cause* or *ground* of an action. Examples are as follows:

λιμῷ δ' οἰκτιστον θανέειν Hom. *Od.* xii. 342;

ῥύγῃ ἀπωλλύμεθα Xen. *Anab.* v. viii. 2;

ἑλλων ἄκοῃ ἐπίσταμαι Thuc. iv. 126.

Compare Sanskrit: *jarasā marate* 'he dies of old age'; Slavonic: *azъ же gladomъ gyblja* 'I perish of hunger'; Latin: *fame aut ferro interire*.

The instrumental is also used of time and place when such are regarded in any sense as the instrument of an action. Thus the dative in the following sentence may be said to derive from an instrumental:

ἐπορεύετο δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποίησάτο

Thuc. ii. 98.

Feminine adverbs such as ταύτῃ, ἰδίᾳ were probably originally instrumentals of this sort. An example of a temporal usage is found in Demosthenes:

περιέσται τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πολιορκουμένων 1. 18.

This is sometimes reinforced by the preposition σύν as in Sophocles:

ἔμψρων μόλις πῶς ξὺν χρόνῳ καθίσταται Ajax, 306.

Examples from other languages are seen to exhibit an identical construction. Thus we find in Sanskrit: *anyena pathā nayati* 'he leads by another path'; in Latin: *his pontibus milites mittit pabulatum*; and in a temporal sense: *triginta fere annis cursum suum conficit*. Connected with these uses is that sometimes known as the instrumental of *measure*, used in connection with the comparative of adjectives: πολλῷ μείζων, οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὕστερον.

It may well be that these locative and temporal uses formed the link that first brought the instrumental into such close touch with the locative that coalescence took place. The original dative and instrumental had little in common, and

it is probable that fusion first took place between locative and instrumental. In Hellenistic times we find the locative preposition ἐν used with a dative to express the instrument. This illustrates how completely the various senses had fused in the mind of the Greek. It is impossible to tell in specific cases the extent of the fusion, but it is necessary to emphasise that in the use of these cases as much as in everything else the context determined the sense. We ourselves generally speaking are able without difficulty to tell the sense of a Greek dative, chiefly by the verb in connection with which it is used. We should not confuse the senses in such phrases as ἐσβαλὼν στρατὸν Πελοποννησίων and πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται, near in meaning as these two uses happen to have become. The Greek was far less liable to confuse the two uses in his mind. No speaker of course considered consciously whether he was using a dative that was originally locative or instrumental. He merely spoke. But the two uses were without doubt distinct in his mind. In English we may and do use the same preposition in widely differing senses, but no confusion arises. The same sentence may contain such uses. 'The flowers by the house were planted by me' is a sentence containing separate uses of the preposition *by*. The truth is, as has been emphasised previously, that the sentence, not the word, is the real unit of speech. A speaker thinks in sentences. Most words carry no meaning if spoken as isolated units, or at least no specific meaning. The precise meaning of the word is determined by the context. This is especially true of the oblique cases of nouns in languages that admit of inflexion. Looked at in this light we can understand that the coalescing of the cases in Greek brought with it little or no confusion, and it may fairly be regarded as an instinctive simplification of elements that proved unwieldy and complex as they came down from the parent language. This simplification is a process common to all civilised languages, but our illustrations may have shown that it was attended in Greek by a certain logical neatness characteristic of the mind of the people to whom the language belonged.

Side by side with this process went another, and this was the extension of the use of prepositions to cover a very great

variety of aspects of relationship between the noun governed and other parts of the sentence. Although originally it must have been usual for most prepositions to be employed with only one or a small proportion of the original cases, the use of most prepositions in Greek was extended to all such noun cases as admitted of prepositional reinforcement at all. This process is an illustration of the freedom with which the Greek mind manipulated the material that it inherited. It imposed no extra strain on memory but rather the reverse, for it rendered it in the cases affected no longer necessary to restrain the use of the preposition to a particular case or cases. It added ways and means of expression, which, if by any chance they were confusing in conversation by reason of their close similarity or actual identity of meaning, provided the poet and prose-writer with a variety of modes of expression that he did not fail to employ in order to adorn his work and enrich his style.

Little need be said of the adjective. It agreed with its substantive in gender, number and case. It admitted of three degrees of comparison, distinguished by inflexion. In addition it was able normally to stand alone without a substantive as subject, object or predicate, or after a preposition, in almost every position indeed in which a substantive might stand. The expression δ καλός for example could form the subject of a sentence as if it were a substantive. An extensive use was made of adjectives in the plural in this way. Thus οἱ καλοὶ means 'good men'. This usage with the article was extended to participles and even to adverbs in such expressions as οἱ παλαιοὶ 'those of old'. In one particular phrase the article itself could stand similarly alone followed and supported by the contrastive particles μέν and δέ. Thus δ μέν or οἱ μέν forming the subject of a sentence was followed by δ δέ or οἱ δέ as the subject of the next, the meaning being, 'the one . . . the other', 'some . . . others', 'the former . . . the latter'. This is a survival of the original status of the article as a demonstrative. The superiority bestowed upon the language by the possession of a definite article as compared with such a language as Latin that has none needs no demonstration.

Chapter VI

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

In dealing with the Greek verb we shall endeavour to approach along the lines most familiar to the student of the language who has not had the advantage of the historical method of study or of comparative linguistics. We shall deal with the various phenomena in the order that seems to him most natural, treating first voice, secondly tense, thirdly mood. The meaning of the tenses of the indicative will be examined before that of the subjunctive and optative because temporal aspects are involved in the relationship of the latter, the optative in certain kinds of dependent sentences acting as a historic tense to the primary of the subjunctive.

First of all it is necessary to mention certain classes of verbs whose meaning was determined by their form. Such verbs were of infrequent occurrence in Greek. They are of five kinds, causatives, iteratives, intensives, inchoatives and desideratives. We find causatives showing the termination -εω, examples being φοβέω, σοβέω, ὀχέω. Iteratives may be in -εω, -αω or -αζω, but this class of verbs does not exhaust these terminations, especially in the case of -εω and -αω. The corresponding Sanskrit termination in the case of verbs in -εω is -ayāmi. The iterative verbs express the repetition of action. Examples are ποτέομαι 'I flutter' related to πέτομαι 'I fly', τροπέω to τρέπω, σκοπέω to σκέπτομαι. The following are iteratives in -αω: στρωφάω, τρωπάω, νωμάω, and the following in -τάζω: ἔλκυστάζω, νυστάζω. Intensives are marked by stem reduplication, and this is a relic of the parent language, being found also in Sanskrit. Examples of such are παιπάλλω, γαργαίρω, μαρμαίρω. Inchoative verbs, marking the beginning of a state or action, may be distinguished by the suffix -σκω. Examples are: γηράσκω 'I grow old', ἡβάσκω 'I am adolescent' (i.e. 'I begin to grow up') and γενειάσκω 'I grow a beard'. Finally we find the

desideratives in -σειω, expressing desire for a certain action. These forms were developed within Greek itself by a process not altogether clear. Examples are ὀψείω, ξυμβασειώ, βρωσειώ, ναυμαχησειώ, ἀπαλλαξειώ.

We now come to the question of voice. Here again it should be remembered that in common with other ancient languages of Indo-European origin Greek expresses by inflexion what modern languages, notably our own, express by auxiliaries. In Greek, as we have seen, there were three voices, active, middle and passive, the two latter being identical in form in certain tenses. The active and passive are identical in meaning with the active and passive in English. The middle is generally speaking a reflexive voice, used when the object of the verb is identical with the subject. Thus ἔλυσα means 'I loosed', ἐλυσάμην 'I loosed myself', ἐλύθην 'I was loosed'. When we come to examine the uses of the middle voice however we find that the question is more complicated. The middle voice can be used not only as a reflexive, but when the subject of the verb has any interest in the action, however slight. The middle may have an object of its own just as an active. Thus the phrase λούομαι τὰς χεῖρας means 'I wash *my* hands', the middle showing that the subject has an interest as indirect object of the action. It might be possible to regard τὰς χεῖρας as an accusative of respect, the literal meaning being, 'I wash myself as regards the hands', but whatever the origin of this accusative it came very naturally to be regarded as the object of the verb. A similar sentence is παρεσκεύασαντο ναῦς 'they prepared ships for themselves', but here the accusative can scarcely ever have been an accusative of respect, but must from the beginning have been regarded as the object of the verb. For those preparing did not prepare *themselves* in respect of ships or in any other respect in the same sense as that in which they washed themselves. Their interest in the preparation was indirect. They stand to the verb in the same relationship as an indirect object to a verb of giving. Both sorts of sentences however arose from the same starting-point, the latter showing a rather wider extension of meaning.

Leading on from this kind of construction we find certain verbs indistinguishable in meaning from actives and often governing objects, which are yet middle in form. These are the so-called deponents and they constitute a class of verb not confined to Greek. They are verbs which originally must have been regarded as having a meaning which implied intrinsically that the action was to the interest of the subject. Some of these verbs were derived as deponents from the parent language as may be seen by the occurrence of their correlatives as deponents in other languages. Such verbs are *μητιόμαι* (cf. Lat. *metior*), *ἔπομαι* (cf. Skt. *sácate*, Lat. *sequor*), *νέομαι* (cf. Skt. *násate*), *ἤμαι* (cf. Skt. *áste*), *κείμεαι* (cf. Skt. *çéte*). Other verbs which in Greek had been from earliest times deponent are the following, the list being of course not exhaustive: *κρέμαμαι*, *ἐρεύγομαι*, *φθέγγομαι*, *οἶχομαι*, *ἄλλομαι*, *ἄγαμαι*, *αἶδομαι*, *ἄζομαι*, *ἄχθομαι*, *ὀλοφύρομαι*, *μέμφομαι*, *ἔραμαι*, *βούλομαι*, *σκέπτομαι*, *γίγνομαι*, *δύναμαι*. Some of these verbs, it will be noticed, are intransitive, others transitive, and, while in some cases it will be seen that the action expressed by the verb is purely personal, that is to say, its result concerns entirely or chiefly the person who is the subject of the verb, it is difficult to see in other cases why the middle form should have arisen in preference to the active. We must consider that in all cases the original meaning conveyed a sense that was thought of as in some degree reflexive.

A second clear meaning of the middle which was inherited from Indo-European times was the reciprocative. That is to say, in such cases the action expressed by the middle, used in the plural, was to the interest of the joint subjects of the verb, or at any rate concerned such joint subjects. Thus we find *μάχεσθαι* 'to fight each other', *διαλέγεσθαι* 'to converse', *λοιδορεῖσθαι* 'to abuse each other', *ἀσπάζεσθαι* 'to greet each other', *διανέμεσθαι* 'to divide between each other'. The same class of verb occurs in Sanskrit and in such Latin examples as *osculantur*, *luctantur*. Naturally these verbs came to be used in the singular, and developments of meaning took place. It was an easy step from saying *διαλεγόμεθα τι* 'we are speaking about something to each other', to saying *διαλέγομαι τι τινί*

138 SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

'I am conversing about something with somebody'. Transitions such as this serve to illustrate what was at the back of the establishment of the deponents, though in probably none of their cases did an identical development with that of the reciprocal middles take place. In some cases the difference between the active and middle forms is merely that of transitive and intransitive. A well-known example is the verb παύω, which means 'I cause to cease', the middle παύομαι meaning 'I cease'. In these cases the active constitutes a sort of causal verb.

Parallel to the deponents is a class of verbs whose form is active only. These are mostly, though not all, intransitive, and as we find them in historical Greek there is nothing to distinguish them in meaning from the deponents. Their form is ancient, for it is paralleled in Sanskrit and other languages. Examples are: βάλω (cf. Skt. *gacchati*), ἔπω (cf. Skt. *sar-pati*), φεύγω (cf. Skt. *bhujāti*), ῥέω (cf. Skt. *śṛavati*), τρέω (cf. Skt. *trāsati*), εἰμί (cf. Skt. *asti*). These forms show us that the voice forms, while normally carrying with them voice meanings, were to a certain extent independent of such meaning, but that this independence went back to Indo-European times. We might expect all active forms to have been transitive in meaning and all middle forms to have been intransitive. This was not the case. Some grammatical confusion is the result. We can understand and expect an active ἔδω or δίδωμι, but why a middle μέφομαι or σκέπτομαι? If intransitives such as ἐρεύγομαι or οἴχομαι are middle in form, why do we find active intransitives such as βάλω or ῥέω? This confusion was inherited from the parent language. The causes of the formation lie in prehistoric times, the original adjustment of form to meaning being lost. The Greek language accepted these forms and did not succeed in reducing them to order. It added largely to the number of deponents, as we have seen. One reason for this may have been that to a certain extent the middle was regarded not so much as a different voice as a different conjugation. There were verbs in -ω and in -μι, so also there were verbs in -μαι. For the middle terminations, as we have mentioned in an earlier

chapter, are to some extent of obscure origin and not necessarily connected originally with difference of voice. This could have been only very partially the case, however, for the middle was normally used with voice signification. The confusion remained because the material inherited was too great for assimilation or reduction to order, and thus deponents, transitive and intransitive, remained in Greek, as in Latin and other languages, an integral part of the verbal system.

The interchange of meaning between active and middle forms is further illustrated by the fact that certain tenses of an active verb may be middle in form, and of a middle verb active in form, without affecting the meaning. Certain active verbs have future tenses middle in form, such as βήσομαι from βαίνω, πείσομαι from πάσχω, ἀποθανοῦμαι from ἀποθνήσκω. This phenomenon is confined to Greek. Again certain middle verbs have their perfect tense active in form, a feature that occurs in Sanskrit also, thus showing itself to be original and inherited by Greek. Examples of such forms are: γέγονα from γίγνομαι, δέδορκα from δέρκομαι, βέβουλα from βούλομαι, μέμνηνα from μαίνομαι, ὄλωλα from ὀλλυμαι, πέποιθα from πείθομαι, ἐγρήγορα from ἐγείρομαι. In some cases a strong aorist active in form accompanies such verbs. Such a form is ἔδρακον from δέρκομαι, δέδορκα. The passive strong aorists in -ην had, it will be remembered, active inflexions as did the passive aorists in -θην. This fact makes it still clearer that the forms were originally not absolutely distinct as voices but were to a certain extent interchangeable.

We now come to the passive. It has been on the whole the tendency of most of the Indo-European languages, ancient and modern, to fight shy of the passive. Its use is sparing and regarded only as a matter of necessity. Our own language is an exception in this respect. The parent language had no passive, the separate branches being left to develop their own passive forms as necessity arose. The dislike of the passive corresponds to the concrete rather than abstract mould in which the thought and speech of most ancient languages were cast. Each language accordingly made use of middle or other

forms as it found it possible, or developed original passive forms. We have seen in a former chapter how far the middle and passive forms coincided in Greek. An original method of expressing the passive sense was by the use of intransitives, a method that remained in historical Greek. Thus κείμαι was regarded as the passive of τίθημι and τελευτάω could be employed as the passive of ἀποκτείνω. It was also a normal construction to say ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπό τινος or to use as passives such verbs as πίπτειν, φεύγειν. Such verbs as have no middle use their middle forms as passives. The passive is used as in English, the object of the active verb becoming the subject and the agent being expressed by the genitive following the preposition ὑπό or occasionally by the dative (see pp. 116, 125).

We must next examine the tenses of the indicative and their meaning. The present indicative has various senses. First of all there is the general sense, attached to this tense in all Indo-European languages. An example in our own language would be a sentence such as the following: 'the white race inhabits Europe'. In Greek a well-known example is ὁ μὴ δαρὲς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται. Again there is the more specific sense which expresses continuous action in progress at the time that the sentence is uttered. This is in constant use in English in such sentences as 'I am eating'. A favourite usage of the present with historians or narrators describing a vivid scene in the past is that known as the historic present. By this usage of the present events in the past are brought into sharp connection with those to whom they are described. Examples are as follows:

ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνετο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίνην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν Hdt. iii. 78;
 ᾗλαθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθύς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσιν,
 καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὥς ἤσθοντο . . . , διαχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίτας

Thuc. i. 61;

ᾗν τις Πριαμίδων νεώτατος
 Πολύδωρος, Ἐκάβης παῖς, ὃν ἐκ Τροίας ἔμοι
 πατήρ δίδωσι Πρίαμος ἐν δόμοις τρέφειν Eur. *Hec.* 1134.

This construction is not natural in English,¹ but occasionally

¹ It occurs however in such sentences as 'says he'.

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES 141

occurs in imitation of the classical languages. The present also occurs in Greek, often in conjunction with the adverbs πάρος and πάλαι, to express action that began in the past but remains incomplete at the time of speaking. In English the perfect is used in such cases. A Homeric example is as follows:

κούρω δὲ δύω καὶ πεντήκοντα
κρινάσθων κατὰ δῆμον, ὅσοι πάρος εἰσὶν ἄριστοι *Od. viii. 36.*

A clear illustration of this use comes from Sophocles:

κείνον γάρ, οὐδὲν ἄλλον, ἰχνεύω πάλαι *Ajax, 20.*

The verb in English would be translated 'I have been tracking'. The same construction occurred in Sanskrit with the adverb *purā* and also in Latin, facts that indicate that it was inherited from the parent language. It is normal in modern French where one says, for example: 'je suis ici depuis longtemps'. The present is not used exclusively in this sense, the perfect also appearing. The familiar γέγραπται of the New Testament expresses exactly this sense. The present is used with a future sense on occasion by a natural transference of thought, also occurring in English. Here is an example from Thucydides:

εἰ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, ἔχεται καὶ ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία *vi. 91,*
and here one from Euripides:

ὦς, ἦν θάνης σύ, παῖς δδ' ἐκφεύγει μόρον,
σοῦ δ' οὐ θελούσης καταναεῖν, τόνδε κτενῶ *Androm. 381.*

It is from constructions such as these that futures such as εἶμι, the future of ἔρχομαι, arose, being presents and not futures in form. εἶμι meant originally 'I am going', a phrase which in English is regularly used with a future meaning.

The senses of the Greek future are similar to those of the same tense in English. There is the sense of wish or intention, brought out in the following examples:

νῦν μὲν πανσώμεσθα μάχης καὶ δημοτῆτος
σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε μαχησόμεθ', εἰς δ' κε δαίμων
ἄμμε διακρίνη *Hom. II. vii. 291;*

τί χρήμα δράσεις; ὥς μ' ὑπῆλθέ τις φόβος *Soph. Philoc. 1231;*
πότερον οὖν πρὸς ἐκείνους τὸν λόγον ποιήσομαι ἢ πρὸς σέ;
Plat. Protag. 333 a;

142 SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

ὑστερον δὲ ναυτικὸν παρεσκεύαζον, ὃ τι πέμψουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον
Thuc. iii. 16;
ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατέριους νόμους
συγγράψουσι Xen. Hell. ii. iii. 2.

Again the future is used to make general statements, which are of not so definite or certain a character as those expressed by the present. Thus:

οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτελεῖ Hdt. v. 56.

In the following sentence of Thucydides the usage of the future comes near to that of the optative, that is to say, the future might be better translated 'would' than 'will':

τὴν διὰ μέσου ξύμβασιν εἴ τις ἀξιῶσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς
δικαιῶσει v. 26.

Parallel to this usage is that of the future used with the negatives as a prohibition, e.g.

οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις Aristoph. Clouds, 367.

The imperfect was the past tense that corresponded closely to the present. It was used always of incomplete action in the past. In the following sentences this is clearly brought out:

ἦν ποτε Θεσεύς
ἐκ Κρήτης ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηναίων ἱερῶν
ἦγε μὲν, οὐδ' ἀπόνητο Hom. Od. xi. 324;

ὅπου καὶ ῥίγει ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ χιῶν πλείστη ἦν Xen. Anab. v. viii. 2.

The past senses of the verb *to be* are expressed always by the imperfect, the nature of the case preventing a verb expressing a continued state from possessing an aorist tense, which expresses completed action at a definite point of time. A conative force attaches sometimes to the imperfect, as in the following example from Xenophon:

Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο λέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐβαλλον
ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προλέναι Anab. i. iii. 1.

Here the meaning of ἐβιάζετο is 'was trying to compel', a sense that is easily developed from that of 'was in the act of compelling'. Again the imperfect was used to express a repeated action in the past, being in this sense best translated into English by the phrase 'was used to' or 'was accustomed to'. The following sentence from Xenophon provides us with three imperfects used in this sense:

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES 143

Αίχας μὲν γὰρ ταῖς γυμνοπαῖδαῖς τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ξένους ἐδείκνυε, Σωκράτης δὲ διὰ παντός τοῦ βίου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δαπανῶν τὰ μέγιστα πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους ὠφέλει· βελτίους γὰρ ποιῶν τοὺς συγγιγνομένους ἀπέπεμπεν *Memor.* i. ii. 61.

Finally we find the imperfect used from Homeric times onward, more as a simple past tense, in the narration of past events. This usage derived from the parent language. It was overshadowed and ousted in Greek by the use of the aorist in narration, which was a development peculiar to Greek. It did not however entirely disappear but remained side by side with the use of the aorist. This overlapping of the aorist may have had its starting-point in the original identity of form between certain imperfects and 'strong' aorists. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, a form such as ἔλυον was originally identical with a form such as ἔβαλον. In the case of the verb βάλλω the present stem was differentiated from that of the aorist by the addition of a consonant, while in the case of a verb such as λύω no such differentiation occurred. On the analogy of λύω, ἔλυον, an imperfect ἔβαλλον was developed, and the forms such as ἔβαλον came to be regarded as parallel syntactically to the sigmatic aorists of verbs such as λύω. In the following lines from the *Iliad* imperfects and aorists appear practically indistinguishable in meaning:

πάρ δέ οἱ Ἴρις ἔβαινε καὶ ἥνια λάζετο χερσὶ,
μάστιξεν δ' ἑλάαν, τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄέκοντε πετέσθην.
αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἴκοντο θεῶν ἕδος v. 365.

In Homer the tenses may be so closely alike in meaning that considerations of metre alone decide which is to be used. Thus within the space of three lines (*Il.* ii. 43 and 45) we find the following phrases: περὶ δὲ μέγα βάλλετο φᾶρος and ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος. The following sentences however show that the difference between the two tenses, even when both were used in narration, was appreciated:

ἡμέρη τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμός ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ *Hdt.* viii. 64;

Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτεῖχίσθησαν καὶ τάλλα κατεσκευάζοντο *Thuc.* i. 93, 8.

The next tense to consider is the aorist. Whichever form the aorist takes, its meaning is of course the same. In general the function of the aorist is to express completed action in

the past, while the imperfect, as we have seen, expresses incomplete action. Action considered to be instantaneous or momentary was also expressed by the aorist. The aorist corresponds to the English past definite, 'I wrote', the imperfect to the English auxiliary imperfect, 'I was writing'. The action may be in a more or less remote past or completed only at the moment of speaking. In the latter case English would use not the past definite but the past indefinite or perfect. The following are examples:

ἐβλαψάς μ', ἐκάργε Hom. *Il.* xxii. 15;
πῶς τοῦτ' ἔλεξας; οὐ κάτοιδ' ὅπως λέγεις Soph. *Ajax*, 270.

Both these cases would be translated into English by the perfect: 'thou hast wounded me'; 'what is it thou hast said?' Indeed in the line of Sophocles the present is actually used to express the same action. The aorist is also used in subordinate sentences in cases where in English the pluperfect would sometimes be employed, e.g.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν,
νῆα μὲν οἱ γε μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἡπειροῖο ἔρυσσαν Hom. *Il.* i. 484;
ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο
Thuc. ii. 92.

In these cases we should say in English 'when they had come', 'whence they had set out'. We may compare the Latin use of *postquam* with the perfect. A rather curious usage of the aorist, developed in Greek, is that known as the gnomic. It expresses action of a general nature introduced in a somewhat didactic manner with no special reference to the past. It is thought that the usage originated in a projection by the speaker of himself into the future from which he imagined himself looking back upon the action so expressed. Perhaps¹ it is akin in origin to the use noticed above where action immediately completed is expressed by the aorist, translatable into English only by the perfect. A possible English translation in some, if not all, cases would be 'always has ...' or 'always have ...'. Here are two examples:

¹ It has been suggested that in these cases the aorist is used for the present, because the present would give a durative sense which is not required.

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES 145

κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὁ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὃ τε πολλὰ ἐοργῶς Hom. *Il.* ix. 320;
μεγάλοι δὲ λόγοι μεγάλας πληγὰς τῶν ὑπεραύχων ἀποτείσαντες γῆρα
τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδίδαξαν Soph. *Antig.* 1350.

The aorist indicative is also used in conditional sentences expressing unfulfilled condition in past time, the particle ἄν accompanying it in the apodosis or main part of the sentence. Thus: εἰ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ἔφυγον 'If I saw him, I ran away', but, εἰ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ἔφυγον ἄν 'If I had seen him, I should have run away'.

The functions of the perfect are straightforward. It is a primary tense, the action it expresses being regarded either as incomplete at the time of speaking, or more generally as having been completed at the very moment of speaking. Its uses correspond to those of the present. Thus it may be used in a general sense:

πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον διαθρυπτόμενοί τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενοι ἀπόλλυνται, πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ δόξαν καὶ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλα κακὰ πεπόνθασιν Xen. *Mem.* iv. ii. 35.

A historic perfect occasionally occurs corresponding to the historic present:

αὐτῆς δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουλευθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν ἔγνωκε στρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν
Xen. *Hell.* vii. i. 41.

The perfect is used as a future perfect, exactly as the present appears in a future sense:

ἄν τοῦτο νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται Xen. *Anab.* i. viii. 12.

In Hellenistic times the perfect came to be used as a past definite identical in meaning with the aorist, a fusion that had occurred in Latin in prehistoric times, and in the first century of the Christian era the perfect forms began to fall altogether out of use.

Finally the pluperfect stood in the same relation to the perfect as did the imperfect to the present, though it was used infrequently. We have seen that the aorist was used in many cases to express completed action where in English we should

146 SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

employ the pluperfect. Examples of the use of the pluperfect are as follows:

γεγήθει δὲ φρένα Νηλεὺς Hom. *Il.* xi. 683;
ἐδέδηκτο δὲ τεῖχος Hdt. vii. 176.

It will have been noticed that in describing the functions of the tenses stress has been laid upon the indefiniteness and definiteness, or completion and incompletion, of the action as much as upon the time at which it takes place in relation to the speaker. The expression of the former was as prominent as that of the latter, and is inherited from Indo-European times, as is clear from the evidence of Sanskrit, where it is still more the function of the tense forms. It is probable that in the parent language the expression of time was the least important function of the forms and that they were akin in function to the Semitic tenses, which expressed definiteness or indefiniteness without reference to time. Past time was actually expressed in Greek as in Sanskrit not so much by the tense forms as by the augment prefixed to them, which is regarded as being a proclitic and at one time in the past a separate word. The idea of time is woven so intimately with our present-day thought that it is difficult to conceive of a language whose verb inflexions were not concerned to show primarily whether an action takes place in the past, present or future, but whether such an action was complete and definite or otherwise. The important difference to the speakers of such languages lies between the idea 'I do' and that of 'I am doing', or more clearly between 'I did' and 'I was doing'. As to time, the speaker was understood to project himself and his hearers to the time of the action of which he was speaking. Take a modern sentence such as 'Before meeting you I went into a shop and bought a newspaper'. In a language such as we have been considering it would run somewhat as follows: 'I go into a shop, I buy a newspaper, I am meeting you'. The necessary time connection is established. Or again a sentence such as 'As I was boarding the steamer I met you', would run, 'I am boarding the steamer, I meet you'. There are cases when tenses are to some extent redundant in modern speech. Our verbal system

is such that whenever we use a verb we are obliged to define the time of the action. We have no neutral tense. But when upon meeting a friend in the street we say, 'I have bought a newspaper', we are merely intending to inform him of the fact of our purchase, not of its time. If we had no past indefinite tense but merely a present and were to say to him in consequence, 'I buy a newspaper', we should lose nothing, for he would be aware that the purchase was in the past by seeing the newspaper in our hand. Indeed we may have heard a foreigner use this tense under identical circumstances, and we understand him perfectly. He does not fail to speak the language intelligibly, though he does not speak it grammatically, which is a different thing. Moreover literature requires greater grammatical exactitude than conversation. The sentence quoted above, 'Before meeting you I went into a shop and bought a newspaper', is a sentence that we should be more likely to write than to speak, unless we were a trifle pedantic. In speaking we use far fewer dependent sentences than in writing, and dependent sentences are closely bound up with temporal exactitude. This is perhaps why in the early Greek of the Homeric poems we find so much parataxis, or the stringing together of main clauses. Such a language is more like a spoken language. Nor need we infer from this fact that no history, even long history, of literary development lay behind the Homeric poems. The dependent sentence developed in classical literature, and it is on Greek and Latin classical literature that the style of modern literature is largely based. Perhaps such a development is in the long run essential to literature. It at least reflects a growing complexity of thought. And with it developed the functions of the tense forms as expressing time divided clearly into past, present and future. Of course these were not absent in the parent Indo-European, but they were doubtless undefined. In Greek, as in the other languages, they developed till they reached the functions of the modern tenses, which compel the speaker, as we have seen, to introduce the time of the action he is speaking about in his utterance, though he may have no need to do so. This means that Greeks and moderns

have come to have their thought so dominated by the conception of time that they can think of no action without its taking place at a more or less exact position in time. The development of the tenses was due to development of thought rather than of language.

It may be, as we have seen, that in the parent Indo-European the sole function of the tense forms was at one time to express the manner, rather than time, of action. It is in any case certain that before the break-up of that language they had assumed temporal functions in addition. Their place was taken in the former capacity to some extent—so far as that place was resigned—by *stem*-formations, some of which we find to have descended into Greek connected with definite sorts of action. Thus it is possible that presents formed by reduplication with the vowel *i* were regarded as largely of *iterative* or *intensive* force. Examples are ἴστημι, γίγνομαι, πίμπλημι, μίμνω, ἴσχω. Presents formed with a nasal, as also those in -σκω, have often a *terminative* force, that is to say, they express action which has in view a definite goal. Examples are ὀρνυμι, ἄγνυμι, ἔννυμι, δάμνημι, βάσχω, εὐρίσχω, θνήσχω. Again presents formed with -ζο often express *curative* action; that is to say, action that is of lengthy duration or incomplete. Examples are χαίρω, μαίνομαι, βάλλω, κλαίω. The reason for the insertion of these and other consonants in the present stems of such verbs to distinguish them from the strong aorist stems, which usually represented the simple verb stems, may originally have been that such insertions or additions carried with them the expression of certain ways of action that were to be distinguished from the definite action, completed at a point of time, expressed by the aorist.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the indicative mood and its tenses. This mood is the mood of fact. Actual happenings in the past and present, and as regarded from the speaker's standpoint, actual happenings, so far as they may be apprehended, in the future, are expressed by the indicative. But in all languages provision must be made for the expression of that large section of thought that lies outside the realm of fact and within that of imagination or hypothesis. In the

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES 149

Indo-European languages such provision is made in the subsidiary moods, the subjunctive (or conjunctive) and optative. The functions of the subjunctive may be divided into three sections. The first is the Subjunctive of *Intention* or *Will*. In principal sentences this occurs when positive in the first person plural only, and in literature usually in the poets. Here are two examples:

ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ', ὅπως ἔχ' ἄριστα γένηται Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 117;

Μενέλαε, φέρε δὴ διαπτεράνωμεν λόγους Eur. *Androm.* 333.

It is to this class of subjunctive that the usage in final sentences belongs, the purpose being that of the subject of the main verb, not of the dependent. Thus in the sentence ἐξέρχεται ἵνα ἴδῃς, the intention is that of the subject of the main verb ἐξέρχεται, but it is expressed by the subjunctive ἴδῃς whose subject is not identical. If the sentence is negative the usage is frequent and not confined to one person. The negative particle is μή. The sense may be prohibitive:

μηκέτι νῦν δὴθ' αὖθι λεγώμεθα Hom. *Il.* ii. 435;

μήτω, ἀγαθὲ, ἐκέῖσε ἴωμεν Plat. *Protag.* 311 A;

μή πρὸς θεῶν μαινώμεθα μηδ' αἰσχροῶς ἀπολώμεθα

Xen. *Anab.* vii. i. 29;

ἀλλὰ μή μ' ἀφῆς

ἐρημον οὕτω χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων στίβου Soph. *Philoc.* 486;

καὶ μή τοῖς μὲν ὀλίγοις ἡ-αἰτία προστεθῇ τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπολύσῃτε

Thuc. iii. 39.

In prohibitions the aorist subjunctive only, and not the present, is used, while the present imperative may be so used and the aorist imperative rarely and exceptionally. A negative subjunctive sentence of this sort may also carry the sense of fear or warning, and in these cases the present as well as the aorist subjunctive is employed. Thus:

μή τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξῃ κακὸν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν Hom. *Il.* ii. 195;

μή πως . . .

ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε *Il.* v. 488;

ὡμοὶ ἐγώ, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αὔτε

ἀθανάτων

Od. v. 356;

μή νύ τι σεῦ ἀέκητι δόμων ἐκ κτήμα φέρηται *Od.* xv. 19;

μή ἀγροικότερον ᾗ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν Plat. *Gorg.* 462.

150 SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

The same class of sentence may be introduced in Attic by ὅπως μή and of course by a verb of *fearing* followed by μή:

καὶ δεῖδία μή τι πάθῃσιν Hom. *Od.* iv. 820;
καὶ ὅπως γε μή ὁ σοφιστὴς ἐπαινῶν ἀπωλεῖ ἐξαπατήσῃ ἡμᾶς
Plat. *Protag.* 313 c.

A sentence dependent on μή alone may be negated by οὐ, the sense then being an emphatic negative, 'there is no fear lest. . .'. An example from Aeschylus is as follows:

καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλω *Seven against Thebes*, 38;

and from Xenophon as follows:

ἦν γὰρ ἀπᾶς δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν *Anab.* ii. ii. 12.

The meaning is exactly parallel to the modern conversational English expression, 'No fear!'

The second function of the subjunctive is that known as *deliberative*. The English equivalent expression is 'What *am I to do?*' Here are three examples:

πῇ τ' ἄρ' ἐγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω, τεῦ δώμαθ' ἴκωμαι; Hom. *Od.* xv. 509;
εἴπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν ἢ τί δράσομεν; Eur. *Ion*, 758;
τί σοι ποιήσωσιν οἱ μάρτυρες; Dem. *Against Aphobus*, 37.

From the nature of the case the sentence is always interrogative. It may depend upon the main verb of a principal sentence, thus:

τὰ ἐκπρώματα οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ Χρυσάντῳ δῶ Xen. *Cyro.* viii. iv. 16.

We may compare the similar construction in Latin in sentences such as *quid faciamus?* 'What are we to do?'

Finally we find the subjunctive used to express futurity in much the same sense as the future indicative. In principal sentences this usage does not appear later than Homer. Examples are:

οὐ γὰρ πῶ τοιούς ἴδον ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι Hom. *Il.* i. 262;
τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ σὺν νηϊ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι
πέμψω, ἐγὼ δὲ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα *Il.* i. 184.

In the latter instance the particle κε supports the subjunctive, possibly adding slightly more vagueness to the statement. In

dependent sentences, chiefly temporal and conditional, the usage is frequent. Homeric examples are as follows:

ἀλλ' ἔγε μοι δότε νῆα θοὴν καὶ εἰκος' ἑταίρους,
οἱ κέ μοι ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διαπρήσσωσι κέλευθον *Od.* π. 213.

The use is here *generic*, 'a ship and comrades of such a kind as to. . . .'

The following three sentences are temporal:

ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἥλιος ἱρή *Il.* vi. 448;
ἔνθα καθεζόμενος μέναι χρόνον, εἰς δ' κεν ἡμεῖς
ἄστυδε ἔλθωμεν *Od.* vi. 295;
οὐ γὰρ πῶ καταδυσόμεθ' ἀχνύμενοι περ
εἰς Ἀῖδαο δόμους, πρὶν μόρσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ *Od.* x. 175.

The following are interrogative:

εἶδομεν ὅπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξῃ *Il.* xii. 130;
τίς δ' οἷδ' εἰ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίνω; *Il.* xv. 403.

The following is conditional:

εἰ δ' αὖ τις βραῖησι θεῶν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ
τλήσεται *Od.* v. 221.

As we have seen in a previous chapter, Greek preserved in addition to the subjunctive the *optative* mood which appears also in Sanskrit and, disguised as subjunctive, in Latin. The functions of this mood also divide into three sections. The first is the expression of *wish*. This has various shades of meaning which are apparent in the following examples and may be distinguished:

αὐτίκα τεθναίην *Hom. Il.* xviii. 98;
ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρός εὐτυχέστερος *Soph. Ajax*, 550;
εἰ γάρ, ἦ δ' ὅς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, ἐν τούτῳ εἴη *Plat. Prot.* 310 D;
μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου . . . γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους
Hdt. vii. 11;
καὶ νῦν, εἰ τί που ἔστι, πείθοιό μοι *Hom. Od.* iv. 193.

This optative is sometimes supported by the particles εἰ γάρ, as in one of the foregoing examples, and it is easy to see how this led on to its use in conditional sentences introduced by εἰ.

The optative is also used to express an action that might have taken, or might take, place, either under certain unrealised conditions, or in some imaginary circumstances. In

152 SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

Homer such action in the past is expressed by this optative, but in Attic its use is normally restricted to the future, the aorist indicative with ἄν taking its place when reference is made to the past. In Attic this optative is regularly accompanied by the particle ἄν, though this is not necessarily the case in Homer and the other dialects. The following examples will help to explain its use:

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι Hom. *Il.* ix. 57;
 δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης Plat. *Crat.* 402 A.

The following Homeric example shows the construction used of the past:

καὶ νῦν κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὁξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη *Il.* v. 311.

The same construction occurs in Herodotus and occasionally in the Attic dramatists:

ἦδη ὧν ἄνδρες ἂν εἴεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι
 Hdt. vii. 184;
 φαίης ἄν, εἰ παρήσθ', ὅτ' ἡγάπα νεκρούς Eur. *Supp.* 764.

In the following sentence the optative introduces uncertainty:

ἦ μὲν γάρ ἐμὴ [σοφία] φαύλη τις ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀμφισβητήσιμος
 Plat. *Symp.* 175 E.

The optative used in conditional sentences referring to vague or unexpected future action is derived from this usage.

Finally we find the optative used in dependent clauses where the main verb is in a historic tense, both in cases where a subjunctive would be used after a primary main verb and, in *oratio obliqua*, where an indicative would be so used. Thus it appears in final sentences such as the following:

βῆ δ' ἵμεναι διὰ δώμασθ', ἵν' ἀγγεῖλαιε τοκεῦσι Hom. *Od.* vi. 50;

in sentences dependent on verbs of *fearing*:

δεῖδαι γάρ, μὴ λαϊμὸν ἀπαμήσειε σιδήρῳ *Il.* xviii. 34;

in deliberative sentences:

τὸν θεὸν ἐπῆροντο, εἰ παραδοίεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὥς οικιστάς
 Thuc. i. 25;

in temporal sentences:

οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσαιτ' Ἀχιλλῆος *Il.* xxi. 580.

In historic sentences in *oratio obliqua*, whether interrogative or merely indirect statement, the optative appears. Thus:

ἀλλήλους τ' εἶροντο, τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι *Od.* xvii. 368;

τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι *Hdt.* iii. 75;

ἀλλ' εἶπον ὡς δοίην πάσαι *Soph. Oed. Rex*, 1161;

τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔβόα ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων
ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη *Xen. Anab.* i. viii. 12;

ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα, ἐπιληίδας γὰρ
ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι *Xen. Hell.* iii. ii. 23.

Similarly an optative was used in historic temporal clauses introduced by a conjunction meaning 'when'. In these cases the optative expressed repeated action and is sometimes described as *iterative*. The introducing conjunction must be rendered in English 'whenever'. Thus:

ἦτοι δὲ ἄμφι πόλιν Τροίην φραζοίμεθα βουλὰς,

αἰεὶ πρῶτος ἔβαζε *Hom. Od.* xi. 510;

ἐθήρευνε ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς
ἵππους *Xen. Anab.* i. ii. 7.

This optative in historic dependent clauses, corresponding to the subjunctive or indicative in primary, was not inherited from the parent language but developed in Greek. In Homer we find the iterative optative and an optative in indirect speech confined to interrogative sentences. The line of development can be traced without undue difficulty. If we say, 'When I spoke', we cite a definite occasion naturally expressed by the indicative. If however we say, 'Whenever I spoke', we refer to a number of occasions which, though actually having taken place as a class, are individually sufficiently vague and undefined to warrant their expression by a mood of hypothesis rather than fact. In English the expression, 'Whenever I might speak', though not used, is equally intelligible as the indicative. Again in interrogative clauses the meaning is quite clear. 'They asked' (or 'they deliberated') 'where might he be'. From its use in interrogative indirect sentences the step was easy to the use of the optative in indirect statements. This appears first in classical literature. The association of the optative with historic sentences was perhaps due in the first place to the form of its

terminations, which are parallel with those of the historic tenses of the indicative rather than with those of the primary. In Hellenistic times the optative began to become confused with the subjunctive, and although the aorist optative forms are occasionally found as late as the eighth century A.D., they have quite disappeared in modern Greek. In the New Testament the optative scarcely occurs apart from the expression *μή γένοιτο*.

The use of the imperative needs little comment. It is straightforward and expresses command or entreaty along lines parallel with its use in English and other modern languages. The present imperative refers to the continuance of action already begun, and is less peremptory than the aorist. An idiomatic usage occurs in the classical dramatists, for example:

οἰσθ' οὖν ὁ δρᾶσον; Eur. *Hec.* 225.

The use of the imperative in a dependent clause seems to our ears curious. Conceivably it produced an effect of haste or confusion upon the hearer.

Lastly we come to the infinitive. The infinitive forms, as we have seen in a previous chapter, derive from substantives, being in Greek datives or locatives. In Greek they had become entirely assimilated to the verb, governing accusatives like the moods. Certain uses were derived from Indo-European times. The first was the *final* and *consecutive* use, or the infinitive expressing *purpose* or *result*. This use is identical with the normal function of the infinitive in English. The following examples illustrate this usage, which is simple:

ἠῶθεν δ' Ἰδαίος ἦτο κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας
εἰπόμεν Hom. *Il.* vii. 373;

μανθάνειν γὰρ ἤκομεν
ξένοι πρὸς ἀσπῶν Soph. *O.C.* 12;

ἐκπεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδρασαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν
Thuc. ii. 27;

τὸ δὲ ἡμῖς κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρατόπεδον Xen. *Anab.* v. ii. 1.

The use of the infinitive in the sense of the imperative was also inherited by Greek from the parent language. It occurs regularly in Sanskrit. Originally perhaps a finite verb in the

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES 155

imperative such as 'remember' was present and the infinitive depended upon it. The following are examples:

τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,
σῶμα δὲ οἶκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν Hom. *Il.* vii. 79;
σὺ δὲ Κλεαρίδα ὕστερον . . . αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐπεκθεῖν καὶ
ἐπείγεσθαι ὥς τάχιστα ξυμμεῖξαι Thuc. v. 9;
νῶ μὲν οὖν ὁρμώμεθον,
ὕμεις δ', ὅταν καλῶμεν, ὁρμᾶσθαι ταχεῖς Soph. *Philoc.* 1080.

The original dative from which the infinitive sprang is seen clearly in its use with nouns and adjectives in an *explanatory* or *limiting* force. Thus:

θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι Hom. *Il.* v. 725;
ἦν γὰρ . . . μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι Thuc. i. 138.

The infinitive is also used, exactly as in English, to complete the sense with verbs such as βούλομαι, εὔχομαι, δύναμαι, ἐπίσταμαι, πείθω, κελεύω, παρακαλῶ, νομίζω, ἐλπίζω, δοκῶ, φαίνομαι, ὄμνυμι, μέλλω.

The origin of the infinitive had been lost sight of in the earliest Greek times. It had become, so to speak, acclimatised, as part of the verb, and it was employed in the function of a verbal substantive, as it is occasionally employed in English, though this usage is normally rendered in English by the gerund or verbal noun in *-ing*. In this capacity the article was attached to the infinitive, not in the dative, one of the cases from which the infinitive forms sprang, but in the nominative. Thus fully equipped as a neuter substantive the infinitive became declinable, the article attached being of course alone subject to inflexion. Examples of the infinitive and article in this capacity are frequent from Homer on. Thus:

ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν
πάννυχον ἐγρήσσοντα Hom. *Od.* xx. 52;
ἦδ' οὐδὲ καὶ τὸ πυθέσθαι Hesiod, frag. 192.

In classical Attic prose a further development took place. A predicate or object could be attached to the infinitive, and a subject in the accusative, the article being attached to the whole phrase and turning it into a substantive, which could

156 SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES

take the place of any normal substantive in the sentence. Thus:

τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἑκείνων ἓνα ὄντα κύριον . . . πρὸς τὰ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
ταχὺ πρᾶττεσθαι πολλῷ προέχει Dem. *Olynth.* 1. 4.

Another rather curious development was the use of the genitive of the article with the infinitive to indicate purpose. This construction appeared in the Attic prose-writers and in the New Testament. Examples are as follows:

Μίνως τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον
λέναι αὐτῷ Thuc. 1. 4;

προήγεν αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος . . . εἰς ὥραν τοῦ πρόσθετον γενέσθαι
Xen. *Cyro.* 1. iv. 4;

ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν Matthew xiii. 3.

Finally we find the infinitive used in the construction known as the *accusative with infinitive* after verbs of *saying* to express indirect speech. The accusative was originally the object of the main verb in constructions such as 'he ordered him to do this'. Examples of the usage are as follows:

θωρήξαι ἔ κέλευε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς
πανσυνδίη Hom. *Il.* π. 11;

δαιμόνι, οὐ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὥς δεῖσσεσθαι *Il.* π. 190;
κινδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι Xen. *Anab.* v. i. 6.

The functions of the participles in Greek are generally speaking straightforward. They are employed frequently in literature and the ensuing neatness of construction is a feature of the language. Three points demand attention. The first is the fact that after verbs of *perceiving* a participle is used in the accusative instead of an infinitive to express indirect thought. The origin of the construction lay in sentences such as the following:

μέμνημαι Κριτίᾳ τῷδε ξυνόντα σε Plat. *Charmides*, 156 A.

In conversational English we say the same thing, 'I remember you meeting him'. This is identical in meaning with 'I remember that you met him'. Examples are:

ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κύρον προσελαύνοντα Xen. *Anab.* 1. vii. 16;
εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάζοντας *Cyro.* 1. iv. 20.

The second usage to be noticed is that known as the *genitive absolute*. It first arose from the association of a participle

with nouns that were in the genitive in cases such as the following:

τοῦ δ' ἰθὺς μεμαδῶτος ἀκόντισε Τυδέος υἱός Hom. II. viii. 118.

Examples of the construction are as follows:

οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο
σοὶ κοίλης παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρέας χεῖρας ἐποίησε
συμπάντων Δαναῶν Hom. II. i. 88;

καίπερ οὐ διδόντος τοῦ νόμου Dem. 44. 65;

ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς Thuc. i. 2.

Thirdly there is the curious construction known as *accusative absolute* used chiefly with impersonal verbs such as ἐξόν, παρόν, προσήκον, δέον, παρασχόν, δόξαν, προσταχθέν. This construction probably originated in cases where the participle was in apposition to the whole sentence. Such a case for example appears in Euripides:

πείθει δ' Ὀρέστην μητέρ', ἥ σφ' ἐγέναιτο,
κτεῖναι, πρὸς οὐχ ἅπαντας εὐκλείαν φέρον Orestes, 30.

In this case the participle φέρον is in apposition to the main sentence.

Before leaving the Greek verb system mention must be made of an important factor, that of the compound verbs. These consisted of the simple verb stem preceded by a preposition in its older function as adverb and joined to the verb to form in combination a single word. In meaning these compound verbs originally combined the sense of the simple verb with a particular intensive or other force added to it by the preposition, and such remained the sense of many of them in historical times. Others, however, and these often those most frequently used, wandered away in meaning from the simple verb owing to the fact that the combination came normally to be regarded as a unit to such an extent that its connection with the simple verb might be forgotten. Often the compound verb expressed the consummation or completion of the action of the simple verb. This was also true in Latin, where we find for instance the simple *facio* meaning 'I do', the compounds *conficio*, *efficio* meaning 'I accomplish'. The four combining prepositions that give this sense are συν-, κατα-, δια- and ἀπο-. The great majority of the prepositions

combine with verbs in this way, and they are of course in this capacity adverbs. Thus ἀμφί adds to the verb its sense of 'around', as in ἀμφίστασθαι 'to stand around'. ἀνά has the sense of 'up' in such verbs as the following: ἀναβαίνω, ἀναδέχομαι, ἀναβάλλω. Perhaps through the sense of ἀναστρέφω 'to turn up', that is, 'to turn round', the sense of *back, again*, is developed, seen in such verbs as ἀναβάλλω, ἀναχωρέω, ἀναβλέπω. Often the two meanings are found in the same compound. Thus ἀναβλέπω can mean 'to look up' or 'to recover the sight', the determining factor being the context. Compounds with ἀντί are ἀντιβολέω 'to meet', ἀντιδίδωμι 'to give in exchange', ἀντίκειμαι, ἀντιλαμβάνω, ἀντιλέγω 'to speak against'. In the case of ἀπό the literal meaning of the preposition as well as that of intensity occurs in compounds. Examples are ἀποβαίνω, ἀποβάλλω, ἀφίσταμαι, ἀπειπεῖν, ἀπομαίνομαι, ἀποτολμάω. Examples of compounds with εἰς are εἰσάγω, εἰσβάλλω, εἰσέρχομαι, εἰσοράω, and with ἐν ἐνδέχομαι, ἐνδίδωμι, ἐνείμι, ἐνίημι, ἐντείνω. The normal sense of the preposition is at the base of all meanings developed in compounds with ἐκ, e.g. ἐκβαίνω, ἐκφεύγω, ἐκφέρω, ἐκχέω, ἐκτείνω. ἐπί is frequent in compounds and examples are as follows: ἐπαγγέλλω, ἔπειμι, ἐπιβαίνω, ἐπιβάλλω, ἐπιδείκνυμι, ἐπικαλέω 'to call upon', developing the technical sense 'to accuse', ἐπιλαμβάνω in which the sense of addition appears, ἐπισκοπέω, ἐπιστρέφω, ἐπιτέλλω, ἐπιφέρω, ἐπιχειρέω. The preposition κατά is also frequent in compounds in which it has the general sense of 'down' as well as developing an intensive force. The following examples illustrate these: καταβαίνω, καταγιγνώσκω, where the preposition has the force of 'against', κατάγω, καταδύω, καταλέγω, καταπαύω, in which last the force seems intensive. Three distinct senses appear in μετά when compounded. First there is association, corresponding to the meaning of the preposition when followed by the genitive. Examples are μεταυδάω, μετάφημι, μέτειμι, μετέχω, μεταλαμβάνω, μεταδίδωμι. The three last compounds mean respectively 'to have', 'receive' or 'give a share in'. Secondly there is the sense of *after*, corresponding to the meaning of the preposition when

followed by the accusative, e.g. μετέρχομαι, μεταπέμπομαι 'to send for'. Finally there is the meaning of *change* seen in such verbs as μετατίθημι, μεθίστημι, μεταβάλλω, μεταγιγνώσκω. The meaning of παρά in compounds is simple, and scarcely extends beyond the basic meaning of the preposition. Examples are παράκειμαι, πάρεμι, παρατίθημι, παρέχω. The preposition περί retains in compounds its meaning of *round*, as in περίεμι, περιτίθημι, περιζώννυμι, περιτρέπω, περικάμπτω. There is also an idea of completion, περιτίμπλημι, περιμένω. Thirdly we find the idea of *remaining over* or *survival*, as in περιγίγνομαι, περιλείπεται, περιβάλλω 'I throw too far'. Akin to the last is περιοράω 'I overlook'. The various senses of πρό 'before' appear in compounds, e.g. προβαίνω, προέστηκα, προμάχομαι, προνοέω, προαιρούμαι, προβουλεύω. In the case of πρὸς a hostile sense sometimes appears as in προστίθημι, προσφέρω. In προσαγορεύω we find the simple meaning 'to', and the locative meaning 'at' or 'near' in compounds such as πρόσκειμαι. In several compounds the sense of *addition* is brought out, e.g. προσδίδωμι, προσαιτέω. Compounds with ὑπέρ show the meaning 'over', as in ὑπερβαίνω, ὑπερβάλλω, ὑπερπέτομαι. The sense of 'under' is seen in compounds with ὑπό as in those with Latin *sub*. Thus: ὑπείμι, ὑπάγω, ὑφίστημι, ὑποδύνω, ὑφαιρῶ, ὑποφέρω. Finally we find σύν bringing to compounds its meaning of 'together', as in συνοικεῖν, συνδράν, συμβάλλειν. The system of compound verbs was inherited from the parent language and appeared in other languages of the system, but in Greek it was developed and became a prominent feature of the language. The compound verbs supplied to a large extent the lack of abstract terms that would otherwise have hampered the prose-writers, notably the philosophers. The resources of the Greek instinct for expression were lavished upon the compound verbs, and we find them employed as the vehicle of subtle grades of thought. They lent themselves to differences of meaning which appeared as the context dictated or in proportion to the placing of emphasis upon the basic sense of the verb or of the preposition. In many cases also, as has been observed, the meaning developed till its connection with the etymo-

logical sense was scarcely recognisable. The employment of such compounds avoided the superabundant use of adverbs and may be said to have given to the language a proportion that carried with it dignity and strength.

The conclusion of the present chapter is the most convenient place to call attention to another characteristic feature of the Greek language, the particles. The function of these was in most cases to connect a sentence with the foregoing or subsequent sentence, thus simplifying the grasping of the train of ideas. Sometimes also they qualified not so much the verb as the whole sentence, altering the meaning or emphasis by their presence. The following are a few characteristic particles: $\tau\epsilon$ meaning 'and'. This corresponds phonetically to Sanskrit *ca* and Latin *que*. It is frequently used in connection with $\kappa\alpha\iota$, the more regularly used word for 'and', with the meaning 'both . . . and'. A double $\tau\epsilon$. . . $\tau\epsilon$ is also used with the same meaning, and $\tau\epsilon$ is occasionally used with another particle. This particle less often connected one sentence with another than two or more words in the sentence, e.g. $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\omega\acute{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon$.

Another conjunctive particle is $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, of unknown origin. It has frequently an adversative sense and is to be translated 'but'. In Homer it had in addition the function of emphasising a principal sentence or of connecting it with a foregoing dependent clause, being used frequently in this way in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. After Homer it had lost this function, and appears as the second word of a sentence or phrase making a light and unemphatic coupling with what precedes. Its use is very common. Another favourite function of this particle is to stand in a second sentence over against the particle $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ which stands as second word in the first. The sentences were then bound in a sort of corresponding opposition, the best translation of the particles being sometimes 'though . . . yet', although they were generally less emphatic than such a translation might imply. Another method of translation is the somewhat clumsy 'on the one hand . . . on the other'. Illustrations of this use, which is well known, are as follows:

SYNTAX. VERBS AND PARTICLES 161

πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα δέ . . . ; παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης,
νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος Xen. *Anab.* i. i. 1;

Ξέρξης μὲν ἀγαγεν . . . Ξέρξης δ' ἀπώλεσεν Aesch. *Persae*, 550;

ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ . . .

In the case of the quotation from the *Persae* the particles can scarcely be translated¹ into English. A rendering by 'though . . . yet' would in this instance give an entirely wrong sense.

Particles denoting consequence are οὖν and ἄρα. The former means 'therefore'. This was not its meaning however in Homer, where it is a particle of emphasis, similar to γοῦν, and generally has the sense of 'at all events', e.g.

οὐτ' οὖν ἀγγελίης ἔτι πείθομαι . . . οὔτε θεοπροπίης ἐμπάζομαι

Od. i. 414.

In Attic prose οὖν appears in conjunction with δέ after a parenthesis involving alternatives, thus:

ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν Thuc. ii. 5.

Without δέ, οὖν merely resumes after no such alternatives. This particle is also combined with μὲν in the sense of Latin *inmo uero* 'nay rather', an unexpectedly strong affirmation, and will be recognised in phrases such as the following from Plato: παντάπασι μὲν οὖν; ἀνάγκη μὲν οὖν. Of similar meaning is the particle ἄρα. It expresses an apparent rather than an actual consequence. Its nearest English correspondent is perhaps the adverb 'then' used in its weakest position. Examples of its use are as follows:

ὥς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο Hom. *Il.* i. 68;

εἰ δ' ἔτεδν δὴ τοῦτο ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις,

ἔξ ἄρα δὴ τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί *Il.* vii. 360;

μάτην ἄρ', ὥς ἔοικεν, ἤκομεν Soph. *Electra*, 772.

A Homeric form of this particle was ῥα.

The causal particle was γάρ, composed probably of the particles γε and ἄρα, and standing like the former second word in the sentence. A sentence introduced by γάρ explains or provides a reason for the preceding sentence. The sentence explained however sometimes follows the explaining sentence, which, introduced by γάρ, stands in a sort of paren-

¹ δέ is often to be translated 'and', the Greek love of contrast causing them to regard even parallels as in some degree contrasts.

thesis. An example is furnished by the following sentence from Herodotus:

χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρὴν γὰρ Κανδοῦλη γενέσθαι κακῶς)
ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε, Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι . . . ποίεις
δίκως. . . . 1. 8.

Other examples of the use of the particle are as follows:

Ζεὺς . . . πολλὰ καὶ πολὺν κατέλυσε κάρηνα

. . . τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον Hom. *Il.* ii. 117;

ὁμοῦ δὲ λεκτέα & γιγνώσκω· ἔχει γὰρ ἡ χώρα πεδία κάλλιστα
Xen. *Anab.* v. vi. 6;

τί γάρ;

In the second of these instances the causal element is of the most general application.

Finally three affirmative particles deserve notice. The first two are enclitics, γε and περ. The meaning of γε is 'at any rate', 'indeed'. It is used after any word that needs the emphasis it provides, and frequently with pronouns—ἐγώ γε, ἔμοιγε, σύ γε. Other examples are:

οἷόν γε μοι φαίνεται Plat. *Rep.* 329 A;

οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα δηχθεῖη πόσις.

σὺ δ' ἂν γένοιό γ' ἀθλιωτάτη γυνή Eur. *Ion*, 1412.

The enclitic περ adds emphasis to the word that precedes it without specifying in detail the nature of the emphasis. In Attic it came to have largely a concessive force and joined with καί in the form καίπερ followed by a participle it was equivalent to the English conjunction 'although'. It was used frequently in conjunction with relative pronouns, such as ὅσπερ, οἷόνπερ. Examples of its use are:

ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἔοντα Hom. *Il.* i. 352;

γυνή περ οὕσα Aesch. *Seven against Thebes*, 1038.

Lastly δῆ, an accented word of unknown etymology, adds emphasis and exactness to the word or sentence that it qualifies. It is used when a speaker appeals to common knowledge between himself and his audience. τότε δῆ is a frequently used phrase. Examples of its use are as follows:

Τεῦκερ πέπον, δὴ νῦν ἀπέκτατο πιστὸς ἑταῖρος Hom. *Il.* xv. 437;

καὶ ἴστε δῆ οἷος ἦν Χαιρεφῶν Plat. *Apol.* 21 A.

This particle in Attic is combined with καί, and the two words in combination give three separate shades of meaning,

determined of course by the context. καὶ δὴ may introduce a new character to the stage, the more usual combination in this sense being καὶ μήν. Again the combination may record an unexpected affirmative. In reply to a request to look, for instance, καὶ δὴ βλέπω would mean 'I *am* looking'. Thirdly the combination, generally with the perfect indicative, introduces a hypothesis, καὶ δὴ at the beginning of a paragraph being well translated 'Now let us suppose'. The foundation meaning from which these three senses developed seems to have been the introduction of an unexpected circumstance, person, or idea upon the scene or into the argument.

A large number of the Greek particles are enclitics, and it is this fact that determines the position of so many of them as the second word of the sentence. This place was later taken by others that were not enclitic, such as μέν and δέ, οὖν and γάρ. In Latin we find the same drift of the particle towards the second place in the sentence, this being the regular position of *enim*, *autem* and *tamen* for example. We need not suppose therefore that the occupation of this place by the particles was other than an Indo-European trait. The importance and number of the Greek particles however may be suspected to be not entirely an Indo-European inheritance. Several of the most common admit of no known etymology, and it may well be that they came from the foreign languages of the Aegaeon area and imparted some of its characteristic richness and subtlety to early Indo-European Greek. So far as we can tell, Latin is a more typical Indo-European language than Greek. It shares with early Germanic a certain simplicity, even stolidity, that makes it rustic in appearance as compared with the polish, at times not less simple, and beauty of Greek. Vedic Sanskrit, though differing widely in its characteristics, may be said to approach considerably nearer to Latin and Germanic in these respects than to Greek. What gave to Greek this great variety of expression? The answer must be that it came, partially at least, from the languages of the Aegaeon area with which the early Greeks were in touch. And more than with any other class of word this variety is mixed up with the particles. This means of

course that far more than a few monosyllables was borrowed. Modes of expression, of which these particles would have been characteristic and typical, subtleties of thought, perhaps even another sort of outlook on the world, were borrowed, for the particles had little effect on the language viewed externally, vocabulary, sounds or forms. They were the outward embodiment of a force that was in the intellectual and perceptive powers of the speakers and that diffused life and vividness into the language. What exactly was the origin of this force we do not know. We may be mistaken in supposing it to be derived from foreign languages in close association with early speakers of Greek, though this seems the most reasonable view of its origin. The important fact is that it is there, and that its significance must be realised in order to understand fully the position and characteristics of the Greek language.

Chapter VII

DIALECTS¹

In discussing the origins of the Greek language in our first chapter we saw that after separating from the main Indo-European linguistic stock the Greek-speaking peoples became divided, at first perhaps into two sections, later into four by the subdivision of one section into three further parts. At no time did the dialects thus formed drift so far apart as to become separate languages, while a subsequent movement towards unification, which may be presumed to have set in, preserved the unity of the language and prevented any greater widening of the breach. The dialects, each containing many local variations, remained four, Aeolic, Ionic-Attic, Arcado-Cyprian and West Greek. The last was the most distinct, and in relation to it the first three may be said to form together loosely an eastern group. The dialects remained in being till the Hellenistic period when they became absorbed in the κοινή or common dialect of Attic, which by reason of the social preponderance of Athens spread and ousted the rest. Doubtless it was regarded as the dialect of educated people. A section of the Doric dialect (which was West Greek), that spoken in Laconia, is thought to have survived till the present day and to be represented in the modern Tsakonian dialect spoken in the same region as ancient Laconian and exhibiting certain of the same characteristics.

The phenomena noticed or discussed in previous chapters are generally speaking those common to Greek as a whole, although illustrations and examples were confined to Homer and Attic with occasional later Ionic, these being the dialects in which the great mass of extant literature was written. The student of Greek for a long time knows Greek only as Attic, which is unfortunate from a historical point of

¹ All dialect forms are quoted as actually found in inscriptions or in literary texts.

view, as the changes that took place in the history of that dialect differentiated it in certain prominent respects from primitive Greek. In the present chapter we shall examine the characteristics of the separate dialects, the material being more detailed and additional to the general phenomena hitherto discussed. The dialects are preserved to us chiefly in inscriptions from the various cities, and our knowledge of them has been increased greatly in recent years as systematic discovery and collection of inscriptions have proceeded.

We shall begin with the Aeolic dialect. This had three varieties, Lesbian, spoken in Lesbos and the surrounding islands and on that part of the coast of Asia Minor known as Aeolis, the most northerly of the Greek settlements; Thessalian and Boeotian spoken on the mainland in the districts of eastern Thessaly and Boeotia. The two last, especially Boeotian, were overlaid by North-West Greek dialects brought by invaders from the west, and the inscriptions from these districts give us mixed dialects, a stratum of Aeolic mixed with later strata of North-West Greek. Some characteristics common to the Aeolic dialects were the combinations *op*, *po* (instead of *ap*, *pa*) to represent original sonant *r*, as in *δόμορτις* (*Attic* δάμαρ), *Πορνοπίας* (*Attic* πάρνοψ), *βρόχεια* (*Attic* βραχύς), *στρότον* (*Attic* στρατός), the opening of the sound of *t* after the liquid *p*, so that spellings with *ε* are found such as *Δαμοκρέτω*, *κρεννέμεν*, *ἀπελευθερεσθένσα*: proper names which in Attic would be found with the opening syllable *Θαρσ-* would show *ε* in Aeolic, being spelt *Θερσ-*. Perhaps the most important point in which the Aeolic dialects differ from the rest is in their labialisation of the original labio-velar stop. It will be remembered that a complicated process of sound change reduced this stop normally in Greek to a labial before back vowels, a dental before front vowels, leaving it a velar before or after *υ*. In Aeolic often, though apparently not always, it appears as a labial before front vowels also, examples being *πέμπε* (for *πέντε*), *πέσσυρες* for *τέτταρες*, *Βέλφοι* for *Δελφοί*, *Φέτταλος* for *Θετταλός*.

A dative plural in *-εσσι* is found in these dialects, and the perfect participle active has the inflexion *-ων*, *-οντος*, as

though it were a present. Another curious characteristic of these dialects is the use of a patronymic to express the name of a man's father in place of the genitive of the name. Thus: Μέλανχρος Πιθώνειος, Νικόλαος Ἀγαισίαιος, Ἐρμάϊος Νικίῃος. Again Lesbian and Thessalian have the form *ὄν* for the preposition *ἀνά*, they change the vowel *ι* before another vowel to a consonantal *ξ* or *γ*-sound, and show the form *ἀπύ* for *ἀπό*. An important phonetic characteristic of these two dialects is that concerned with original combinations such as *-rī-*, *-nī-*, *-ln-*, *-sl-*, *-sm-*, *-ns-*, *-ls-*, *-rs-*. In Lesbian and Thessalian these are represented as a double consonant, the preceding vowel remaining unchanged in quantity, examples being φθέρρω (not φθείρω), κρίννω (not κρίνω), στάλλα (not στήλη), χέλλιοι (not χείλιοι), ἄμμε (not ἡμέας, ἡμᾶς), μήννος (not μηνός), ἔστελλα (not ἔστειλα). Contracted verbs are inflected as verbs in *-μι* (κάλημι). A phenomenon shared by Lesbian alone and the Homeric poems is the appearance of a diphthong with *-υ* in the place of a vowel followed by a digamma, whether or not the latter has disappeared. Thus we find αῶως for Doric ἄως and Attic ἔως, and ναῶς for Doric νᾶός and Attic νεώς. Another peculiarity of Lesbian is the development of secondary *-νσ-* where *-σ-* had developed from *-tī-* or a similar combination. This gives a diphthong as in παῖσα, opposed to Attic παῖσα; μοῖσα, opposed to Attic μοῦσα; ἔχιοι for Attic ἔχουσι. Original final *-ns* developed in the same way, e.g. τοῖς and ταῖς as *accusative* plural of the article. More prominent in Lesbian is the recessive accent, which in this dialect is thrown back as far as possible consistent with the syllabic law, giving forms such as βασιλεῦς or λεῦκος. We also find certain infinitive forms peculiar to this dialect (in one case however shared with the Homeric poems). Thus ἔμμεναι, δόμεναι are normal forms in Lesbian, while verbs in *-μι* have their infinitives in *-ν*, as δίδων, ὀμνυν, κάλην (from κάλημι for Attic καλέω).

The majority of extant Lesbian inscriptions date from the late fourth century B.C. and onwards and show an admixture of forms derived from the encroaching Attic κοινή. In the middle of the second century B.C. all traces of the dialect

cease, except for a curious revival, probably artificial, in Roman times. It is possible that this and other dialects in connection with which the same thing occurs were spoken long after the Attic κοινή became the official dialect and that the inscriptions of Roman times reflect this fact. The following passages in the Lesbian dialect will illustrate certain of its peculiarities. The first is a fragment of Sappho's and dates accordingly, if authentic, from about 600 B.C.:

σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις, ὦ Δίκα, περθέσθ' ἐράταις φόβαισιν,
ὄρπακας ἀνήτω συναέρραισ' ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν,
εὐάνθεα γὰρ [παρ]πέλεται καὶ Χάριτας μάκαιρα[ς]
μῶλλον προτόρην· ἀστεφανώτοισι δ' ἀπυστρέφονται¹

Sappho 117 (J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*).

In στεφάνοις we see an accusative in -οις from -*ους, corresponding to Attic -ους, συνέρραισ' is Lesbian for Attic συνείρᾱσ' in accordance with laws of the dialect stated above, and in the final word we see the change of ἄπρο- to ἄπυ-. The form ὄρπακας for Attic ὄρπακας also shows psilosis or the loss of the rough breathing, which is characteristic of East Ionic, Cyprian, Cretan and Elean as well as Lesbian.

The following example is part of an inscription recording a financial treaty between Mitylene and Phocaea, dating from the early fourth century B.C.:

Τ[ὸν δὲ κέρναντα τὸ] χρύσιον ὑπόδικον ἔ[μμεναι ἀμφοτέρ]αισι ταῖς
πολίεσσι, δικ[άσταις δὲ ἔμ]μεναι τῷ μὲν ἐμ Μυτιλήναι [κέρναντι] ταῖς
ἀρχαῖς παῖσαις ταῖς ἐμ Μ[υτιλή]ναι πλέας τῶν αἰμισίων, ἐμ Φώκαι δὲ [τ]αῖς
ἀρχαῖς παῖσαις ταῖς ἐμ Φώκαι πλ[έ]ας τῶν αἰμισίων[ν]. τὰν δὲ δίκαν
ἔμμεναι, ἐπεὶ κε ὀνίκαντος ἐξέλθῃ, ἐν ἑξ μηνέσσι. αἱ δὲ κε καταγ[ρ]ῆθῃ τὸ
χρύσιον κέρναν ὑδαρέστε[ρ]ο[ν] θέλων, θανάτῳι ζαμιώσῳ· αἱ δὲ κε
ἀπυφ[ύ]γηι μ[ὴ] θέλων ἀμβρ[ό]την, τιμάτῳ τ[ὸ] δικαστήριον ὅττι χρῆ
αὐτὸν πάθῃν ἢ καθέ[μ]μεναι, ἃ δὲ πόλις ἀνάτιος καὶ ἀζάμιος [ἔσ]τω. ἔλαχον
Μυτιλήναιοι πρόσθε κόπτην. ἀρχεὶ πρότανις ὁ πεδὰ Κόλωνον, ἐμ Φώκαι
δὲ ὁ πεδὰ Ἀρίστ[τ]αρχον.²

¹ 'Lay garlands on thy lovely locks, O Dice, weaving sprigs of anise with thy tender hands. For it may well be that the blessed Graces are more wont to look on those who are bedecked with flowers. They turn away from those that have no garlands.'

² Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 2nd edit., no. 21, p. 183. A translation of the less plain sentences is as follows: 'Anyone debasing the gold coinage is liable in both cities; in the case of such debasing taking place in Mitylene the majority of the judges is to be constituted by all the magistrates at Mitylene

The inscription has rather a Homeric aspect. This is mostly due to the use of the particle *κε* instead of Attic *ἐν*, the dative plural formations in *-εσσι*, and the infinitives in *-μεναι*. The loss of the rough breathing will be noticed throughout, and the accusatives in an *-ι* diphthong, *ταῖς ἀρχαῖς παῖσας* instead of *τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας*. The double *τ* of *ἔττι* (for Attic *ἐτι*), representing assimilation of *ὀδ-τι*, is a feature of Lesbian, as also is the spelling of *ἡμισυς* 'half' with an initial diphthong, a phenomenon not satisfactorily explained. The throwing back of the accent will be specially noticed in the words *αὔτον πάθην*, for Attic *αὐτὸν παθεῖν*, though this is of course not indicated on the stone.

The second variety of the Aeolic dialect is Thessalian, within which there are local differences. A peculiarity of this dialect was a tendency to move forward the *a* sound resulting in an identification with, or approximation to, the *e* sound. Thus *διέ* regularly stands for *διά*, and we occasionally find verb terminations in *-ει* where other dialects show *-αι*. Another peculiarity is the doubling of a consonant before the vowel *ι* when antevocalic, which is weakened to a glide and may or may not be represented in writing. Examples are *ἰδδίων*, *κῦρρον*, *ἀργύρροι*. Again long *ō* under all circumstances in Thessalian was close and was represented by *ου* and never by *ω*. The pronominal form *κίς* occurs in Thessalian for the more usual *τίς*, possibly arising from a combination with a preceding negative *οὔ*, where after *υ* the velar would be regular. Apocope, or the cutting off of the final vowel of a preposition and possibly in the genitive singular in *-οιο*, is prominent in Thessalian. Thus we find prepositions *ἀν*, *ἐπ*, *ἐπ*, *κάτ*, *πάρ*, *πέρ*, *πρότ*, *ὕπ*, and the regular genitive termination is *-οι*. A noticeable feature of Thessalian is the employment of interrogative forms (*κίς*, *κί*, *ποῖας*) in the place of

... the case is to be tried within six months of the end of the year. Anyone convicted of deliberate debasing is to suffer the death penalty; if he is found not to have done it deliberately, the court is to decide his punishment or fine, and the city is not responsible nor liable. It fell to Mitylene to be the first to issue the coinage, and the agreement comes into force under the prytanis after that of Colonus, in Phocaea in that after that of Aristarchus'.

indefinite relatives. The particle δέ is replaced by a form μά. Certain third person plural forms, which in other dialects terminate in -ν, in Thessalian show -εν, such as ὄνεθείκαεν, ἐνεφανίσσασεν, ἐδούκαεμ. A curious third plural middle form is ἐφανγρένθειν, equivalent to ἐφαίρουνται, and inscriptions from Larissa add ν to infinitive forms (ὄνγράφειν, for -αί, δεδόσθαι, πεπείσθαι).

As in the case of Lesbian the Attic κοινή exerts its influence on the inscriptions from the third century onwards, but the dialect appears as late as the first century. Other phenomena are due to the overlying stratum of North-West Greek and will be discussed when we come to examine that dialect. The following inscriptions illustrate the Thessalian dialects:

Νόμος. Αἱ κε τῶν φασσῶν κίς φαλίσσεται[ι] κοινὰ χ[ρ]ῆματα ἐ[χ]ον καὶ μ[ε] δύναται[α]ἱ ἀππε[ῖσαι] το. . .¹

This is from Phalanna in Pelasgiotis and dates from the fifth century B.C. before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet. Consequently digamma appears as a written symbol and the long close vowels *ē* and *ō* are represented by epsilon and omicron. Noticeable features are the use of κε, the form of the indefinite pronoun κίς, αἱ for Attic εἰ, and the labialisation appearing in the form -πεῖσαι, which corresponds to Attic τεῖσαι. Apocope occurs in ἀππεῖσαι for ἀπο-.

Another fifth-century inscription² from Thetonium in Thessaliotis is as follows:

-ες ὑλορέοντος Φιλόνικο ἡνῖος.

Θετόνιοι ἔδοκαν Σοταίροι τοῖ Κορινθίοι καὶ τοῖ καὶ γένει καὶ φοικιάταις καὶ χρήμασιν ἀσυλίαν κατέλειαν καὶ φεργέταν ἐποίησαν κέν ταγᾶ κέν ἀταγία. αἱ τις παρβαῖνοι, τὸν ταγὸν τὸν ἐπεστάκοντα ἐξξανακάδδεν. τὰ χρυσία καὶ τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς Βελφαῖο ἀπολόμμενα ἔσσε Ὀρέσταο Φερεκρατ-.

¹ Buck, no. 27, p. 190. 'If any citizen spends public money which is in his possession and is unable to reimburse. . .'

² Buck, no. 33, p. 195. 'The town of Thetonium has granted to Sotaeus of Corinth and his family, household and property immunity from confiscation and duty and has appointed him a public benefactor in time of war and peace. The magistrate in charge is to take action against any infringement of this decree. The gold and silver objects that had been lost from the temple of Apollo were recovered by him when Orestes son of Pherecrates son of Philonicus was hylorus.'

The inscription is on a bronze tablet, and it is probable that the opening syllable and three words are intended to read on from the end. If this is the case an omicron has been omitted in error, for the form should read Φερεκράτεος, not Φερεκράτες. Again the inscription is in the pre-Ionic alphabet in which *eta* has the value of *h*. Labialisation occurs in Βεφαλο. The expression κέν τὰ γὰρ κέν ἀταγίαι means 'in war and in peace', the title τὰ γὰρ being that of the Thessalian general appointed only in time of war. The phrase has an archaic flavour. The ὕλωρος was also a Thessalian official.

The Boeotian dialect fell even more under the influence of North-West Greek and all Boeotian inscriptions show characteristics of it. Boeotian shares with Lesbian the use of the preposition πεδᾶ instead of μετά, and shows the following peculiarities of its own: the form of the preposition ἐκ before vowels is ἐς, not ἐξ; certain proper names end in -αι and are declined as if they were stems in -ις similar to πόλις. The nominative of these forms is perhaps an adapted vocative. The declension of the demonstrative οὗτος is peculiar in Boeotian. It retains the diphthong ου (in place of αυ) throughout, as well as the aspirate instead of the dental. Thus: οὗτος, οὐτα, οὔτο, οὔτον, οὔταν, οὔτο. The most prominent and interesting Boeotian characteristic is an anticipation in certain respects of the vowel changes that have developed in modern Greek. The whole vowel system shifted to closer positions. Thus as early as the fifth century we find the ε of other dialects in certain positions appearing in Boeotian as ι, and ει likewise. At the close of the same century we find Boeotian αι shifted to η and η to ει. In the middle of the third century οι has become υ (that is to say, a sound like German *ü*), and in the second century we find the same sound to have travelled further and to be occasionally represented by ει. A notable exception in this series was the vowel *υ*. It will be remembered that in Attic-Ionic this had become rounded (*ü*), but in Boeotian this change did not take place. From the fourth century we find the spelling in Boeotian to be sometimes ου, and at the end of that century a spelling ιου after a dental begins to appear, which seems to indicate

that the sound had undergone the same change as in modern English, a *y*-sound developing before it. The Attic κοινή began to exert its influence in the third century, but the dialect continued to be used in inscriptions till the late second century.

A fifth-century inscription on a vase runs as follows:

Μογέα δίδοσι τῇ γυναικί δδρον Εὐχάρει τεύτρετιφάντο κότυλον, ὅς χ' ἔδδαν πίε.¹

Omicron representing a long close vowel as in Thessalian will be noticed, and the similar epsilon in the form πίε. The nominative Μογέα is masculine.

A third-century inscription from Lebadea will illustrate some of the vowel shifts. It is a manumission decree:

Θιὸς τοῦχα ἀγαθά. Φαστίαι ἀρχοντος Βοιωτῆς, ἐν δὲ Λεβαδείῃ Δόρκωνος, Δώλιος Ἰρανῆω ἀντίθεισι τὸν φίδιον θεράποντα Ἀνδρικὸν τῷ Δι τῷ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τῷ Τρεφώνῳ ἰαρόν εἰμεν, παρμεῖναντα πᾶρ τῶν ματέρᾳ Ἀθανοδώρῳ ῥέτια δέκα, καθὼς ὁ πατεῖρ ποτέταξε· ἡ δὲ κα ἔτι δώσει Ἀθανοδώρα, [εἰ]σι [αὐτῇ] Ἀνδρικός φόρον τὸν ἐν τῇ θεῖκῃ γεγραμμένον· ἡ δὲ τί κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμενί Ἀνδρόνικος τὸν περιττὸν χρόνον πᾶρ Δώλιου· [εἰ]πιτα ἰαρός ἔστω με[ι] ποθ[ι]κων μεθελι μεθέν· μεῖ ἔσσειμεν δὲ καταδουλιττάσθῃ Ἀνδρικὸν μεθελι· Ἀνδρικὸν δὲ λειτωργίμεν ἐν τῇς θεοσίης τῶν οὐτῶν.²

The second great dialect section is that of Attic-Ionic. This was spoken in Attica, Euboea, most of the Cyclades, the islands of Chios, Samos and Icaria, and that part of the coast of Asia Minor known as Ionia. The most prominent characteristic of this group, that by which it may be recognised

¹ Buck, no. 40, p. 197. 'Mogea gives this cup as a present to his wife Eucharis daughter of Eutretiphantos, that she may drink her fill.'

² Buck, no. 44, p. 204. 'The god grant good fortune. When Wastias was archon in Boeotia and Dorcon in Lebadea, Doilus son of Irancus dedicates his personal servant Andricus to King Zeus and Trephonius, when he has remained with his mother Athanodora for ten years, as his father had ordered. If Athanodora is still alive, Andricus is to pay her the sum named in the agreement. If anything happens to Athanodora, Andronicus is to remain for the rest of the time with Doilus. Then he is to be consecrated and under no obligation to anyone. Andricus is not to be enslaved by anyone, and he is to minister at the altar of these gods.'

Notice Θιὸς = Θεός, τοῦχα = τύχη, Βοιωτῆς = Βοιωτοῖς, τῷ = τοῖ (loc. used as dat. = Att. τῷ) Ἰρανῆω = Εἰρηναίου, κῆ = καί, πατεῖρ = πατήρ, παρμενί = παραμενεῖ, ἔσσειμεν = ἐσσημέν, μεῖ = μή, θεοσίης = θυσῖαις, τῇς = ταῖς.

almost immediately, is the change of original \bar{a} to a sound represented by η , probably resembling the vowel of Eng. *fair*. Examples are $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$. Attic generally retained $\bar{\alpha}$ after the vowels ϵ and ι and after ρ . Another peculiarity of this group is its treatment of the combination $\bar{\alpha} + o$. This appears as $-\epsilon\omega$, examples being $\xi\omega\varsigma$, $\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, the history being $\bar{\alpha}o > \eta o > \epsilon\omega$. The early loss of ϕ is characteristic of this group, especially of East Ionic, as also is the final $-v$ added to the dative plurals and verb forms in $-\sigma\iota$ or $-\epsilon$, usually before vowels or a pause. The terminations of the nominative and accusative plural of the personal pronouns in $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $-\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, $-\alpha\varsigma$ are peculiar to Attic-Ionic, and the termination $-\sigma\upsilon$ in adverbs of place ($\pi\omicron\upsilon$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, etc.) is confined to this group. It shares with Arcadian the form $\epsilon\iota$, as opposed to $\alpha\iota$, of the conditional conjunction and the use of the particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, as opposed to $\kappa\epsilon$. The extension of the third person plural of the sigmatic aorist ($-\sigma\alpha\upsilon$) to non-sigmatic forms such as $\epsilon\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha\upsilon$, $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon$, is a further characteristic of the Attic-Ionic group. Again it is in this group alone that the third person singular of the imperfect of $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$ appears as $\eta\nu$, which is really a plural form. A peculiarity of Attic-Ionic is the formation of many third person plural terminations in $-\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, such as $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ from $\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, the $-\alpha$ arising from an original sonant η between consonants; $-\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ is then extended analogically in Ionic to such forms as $\beta\epsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$.

Attic and Ionic differ from each other within the group in the following respects. Certain $-\alpha$ -stems have their genitive plural in Attic in $-\omega\nu$, in Ionic in $-\epsilon\omega\nu$, and other combinations of vowels tend to contract in Attic but to remain uncontracted in Ionic. The combination $\rho\varsigma$ becomes in Attic $\rho\rho$, but is unchanged in Ionic. The combination resulting from $\kappa\iota$ or $\chi\iota$ is in Ionic $\sigma\sigma$, in Attic $\tau\tau$, examples being $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$, $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\tau\tau\alpha$. The demonstrative pronoun which appears in Ionic and other dialects as $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ has in Attic the form $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$. Lastly a noticeable difference in word-formation is found in the termination that appears in Ionic, as in other dialects, as $-\eta\iota\omicron$, but in Attic as $-\epsilon\iota\omicron$. Ionic examples are $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\iota\alpha$. Eastern Ionic shows psilosis, or the absence of the

rough breathing, as in Lesbian, while the Ionic of Euboea shows certain affinities to Attic. The dialect of Eretria and Oropus has the peculiarity known as rhotacism, the change of an intervocalic σ to ρ . Examples are $\xi\chi\upsilon\rho\iota\nu$, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omega\rho\alpha\nu\tau\iota$, $\pi\alpha\iota\rho\iota\nu$, $\text{'}\text{Αρτεμ\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\alpha$, $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\rho\iota\omega\nu$. Attic influence became apparent in the Ionic inscriptions as early as the fifth century, and from that time onwards steadily gained ground.

The following inscription from Sigeum illustrates the peculiarities of Eastern Ionic. It dates from the sixth century:

Φανοδῖκο ἐμὶ τὸρ μοκράτεος τὸ Προκοννησίῳ κρητῆρα δὲ καὶ ὑποκρη-
τήριον καὶ ἡθμόν ἐς πρυτανήιον ἔδωκεν Συγχεύσιν.¹

The letters \omicron and ϵ are again here used to express long vowels. Ionic η for older $\bar{\alpha}$ is seen in $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\eta\rho\alpha$, psilosis in $\upsilon\pi\omicron$ - and $\eta\theta\mu\omicron\nu$. An Attic version of the inscription, rather fuller, also occurs, and will serve to illustrate the differences between the dialects at this early date:

Φανοδῖκο εἰμὶ τὸ Ἡρμοκράτος τὸ Προκοννησίῳ κάγ' ὁ κρατῆρα κάπιστατον
καὶ ἡθμόν ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἔδοκα μνῆμα Σιγχεύσι, ἐὰν δέ τι πάσχο, μελε-
δαίνεν με, ὃ Σιγχεύς. καὶ μ' ἐποίησεν Χαίσσπος καὶ ἡαδελφοί.²

Attic had not at this period adopted the Ionic alphabet, hence we find no ω or η but the latter used in place of the rough breathing.

The Ionic of the islands is illustrated in the following dedicatory inscription from Delos, dating from the sixth, or even perhaps the seventh, century B.C.:

Νικάνδρῃ μ' ἀνέθεκεν ἡεκηβόλοι Ἰσχεαίρηι,
ῥόρη Δεινοδίκηῳ τὸ Νησίῳ, ἔησχος ἀλλήων,
Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνέτῃ, Φηράσσο δ' ἄλοχος ν[ῦν].³

The last word is uncertain. Some suppose it to be $\mu\epsilon$. The letter *eta* is used to represent *h* and the secondary η from an original $\bar{\alpha}$, but not original long $\bar{\epsilon}$, which is represented by ϵ . The letter *koppa* is used as the initial of the word *kόρη*. In the terminations of $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\omicron$ and $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\omicron\nu$, η stands for the $\bar{\alpha}$ of other dialects.

¹ Buck, no. 1, p. 164. 'I belong to Phanodicus, son of Hermocrates, of Proconnesus; he gave a bowl, a stand for the bowl, and a wine-strainer to the prytaneum of the Sigeans.'

² Buck, *ibid.*

³ Buck, no. 6, p. 169.

The following inscription is a decree of the Senate of Eretria in Euboea honouring Hegelochus of Tarentum, who was in command of a part of the Peloponnesian ships which defeated Athens off Eretria in 411 B.C. and thus gave Eretria its independence. The date is therefore about 410:

Θεοί. Ἐδοξεν τεῖ βουλῇ Ἑγέλοχον τὸν Ταραντῖνον πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ αὐτὸν κ[α]ὶ παῖδας καὶ σίτηριν εἶναι καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ παιρίν, ὅταν ἐ[π]ιδημέωριν, καὶ ἀτελέην καὶ προεδρίην ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὡς συνελευθερώραντι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων.¹

The rhotacism will be noticed. The Ionic peculiarity of η from older $\bar{\alpha}$ following a vowel is seen in ἀτελέην and προεδρίην. The meaning is simple. The form σίτηριν for σίτησιν is of course accusative singular, παιρίν for παισὶν dative plural. The assimilation of the nasal will be noticed in the combination τὴν πόλιν.

Before leaving Ionic it will be well to compare with the inscriptions above a piece of Ionic literature from Herodotus, a master of Ionic style. The dialect is close enough to Attic to present little difficulty. The following passage is taken from Book II. 22:

ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἔοῦσα μάλιστα ἐψευσται. λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὗδ' αὕτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος, ὅς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐκδιδοί δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμωτάτων ῥέων ἐς τῶν ψυχρότερων τὰ πολλὰ ἔστι; ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων περὶ οἷα τε ἔονται, ὥς οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται τινέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τούτων θερμοί. δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἀνομβροὺς ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ εἰσὺσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσοῦσα πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἔστι ὅσα ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι, ὥστε εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ἕτο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.²

¹ Buck, no. 13, p. 172.

² 'The third conjecture though by far the most plausible is the most misleading. It tells us no more truth than the others, declaring that the Nile which flows from Libya through Ethiopia and has its outlet in Egypt has its source in melting snow. But how can it have its source in snow, flowing as it does from tropical regions to parts which are mostly cooler? Anyone in a position to draw deductions about these matters will find that the most important proof that it is improbable that its source is in snow is provided by the fact of the winds which blow from those parts being warm. The second proof is that the country is permanently rainless and without frost, whereas when snow has fallen rain must fall after an interval of five days, so that had there been snow there would also have been rain in these parts.'

The uncontracted combination of ϵ with a following \omicron , $\omicron\upsilon$ or ω will be noticed, as also uncontracted combinations such as $\rho\epsilon\epsilon\iota$. An Ionic dative plural form occurs in $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\iota$. Most observable as different from Attic is perhaps the form $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ for $\pi\omega\varsigma$, while $\delta\upsilon\nu$ replaces Attic $\omicron\upsilon\nu$. The language has not such marked Ionic peculiarities as the dialect of the inscriptions, because it was a literary language, artificial in character, and understood as a sort of literary $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ throughout Greece. The transcription of Herodotus' works through Attic sources may also have had the effect of removing Ionic peculiarities.

The Ionic of Homer will be discussed in the next chapter.

The third dialect group is Arcado-Cyprian. This was spoken only in the island of Cyprus and in Arcadia in the centre of the Peloponnese, having been driven from the coast by the encroachments of Doric and of North-West Greek, or earlier by Aeolic-speaking tribes. From the point of view of Attic this dialect is in some respects the remotest of all. It is certainly of outstanding interest. There appear in it in use in everyday speech words familiar to the reader of the Homeric poems. Such words are $\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$, $\xi\mu\alpha\rho$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\gamma\omega$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$, $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$, $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, $\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\varsigma$, $\iota\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$, $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. Peculiarities of the group are as follows: ϵ preceding the nasal ν became very close and coalesced with ι . Thus the locative preposition appears as $\iota\nu$ both singly and in compounds. Similarly \omicron is raised and becomes υ , not with the value of $\#$, but retaining its original value of pure u . Accordingly the genitive singular of \omicron -stems appears as $-\alpha\upsilon$. Proper names terminating in Attic and other dialects in $-\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ are formed in Arcado-Cyprian as $-\kappa\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$. The unvoiced dental stop (τ) before the vowel ι became a sibilant whose exact nature cannot be determined. Thus the pronoun $\tau\iota\varsigma$ appears in Cyprian as $\sigma\iota\varsigma$, and in an early Arcadian inscription from Mantinea a unique alphabetic symbol is used to represent the initial sound of this word. This is usually printed $\varsigma\iota\varsigma$. The demonstrative pronoun $\delta\delta\epsilon$ appears in Arcado-Cyprian as $\delta\upsilon\nu$, in Arcadian alone also as $\delta\upsilon\iota$. In Thessalian the form is $\delta\upsilon\epsilon$. The conjunction $\kappa\alpha\iota$ appears in the form $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. The preposition $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is substituted in

this dialect for *πρός*. Finally we have a peculiarity of construction in the use of the dative in place of the genitive after the prepositions *ἀπύ* and *ἐξ*, as well as with several other prepositions. This construction with *ἐξ* occurs also in Pamphylian. A phenomenon peculiar to Arcadian only is the formation of the third person plural in *-νσι* as opposed to the *-ντι* of West Greek and the dropping of the nasal in other dialects. A striking form peculiar to Arcadian is *πλός* meaning 'more', developed by contraction from an older **πλέος*. Also peculiar to Arcadian is the formation of the cardinal numerals from two hundred to nine hundred in *-κασίοι* as opposed to West Greek *-κατιοι* and Ionic *-κοσιοι*, while yet another peculiarity is the form of the conditional conjunction *εἰκ* with an added *κ*, beside *εἰ* before a consonant, supposed to be the remains of the particle *κε* which was superseded by *ἄν*. Again the third singular middle termination *-ται* appears in Arcadian as *-τοι*, perhaps due to the influence of the secondary termination *-το*.

In the third century B.C. Attic forms began to appear in the Arcadian inscriptions. Later considerable Doric and North-West Greek influence made itself felt, but the native forms were still in evidence in the second century B.C. The following part of an inscription from Mantinea, dating from the fifth century B.C., will illustrate the dialect:

Ὅσοι ἀν χρεστέριον κακρίνε εἰ γνωσίαι κακριθέε τῶν χρεμάτων, πὲ τοῖς φοικιάταις τὰς θεῶ ἐναι, κα φοικίας δάσασσθαι τὰς ἀν δδ' ἐάσας. [ἐπ]εἰ τοῖς φοφλεκόσι ἐπὶ τοῖδ' ἐδικάσαμεν, ἃ τε θεὸς κὰς οἱ δικασταί, ἀπυ[δ]εδομίν[ος] τῶν χρεμάτων τὸ λάχος, ἀπεχομίνος κατόρρηντερον γένος ἐναι ἄματα πάντα ἀπὺ τοῖ ἱεροῖ, ἴλαον ἐναι. εἰ δ' ἄλλα σις ἔατοι κατῶνυ, ἰνμενφές ἐναι. εὐχολά [δ'] ἄδε ἔ[σ]τοι τοῖ ἀ[πεχομίνου]. εἰ σις ἰν τοῖ ἱεροῖ τῶν τότε [ἀπυθανόντων] φονές ἐστι, εἰς αὐτὸς εἰσε [τῶν ἐσγόνου] σις κατόρρηντερον, εἰσε τ[ῶν ἀνδρῶν] εἰσε τὰς φαρθένο, ἰνμενφ[ές] ἐναι κα[τὸ] χρεστέριον· εἰ δὲ μέ, ἴλαον ἐναι. εἰ Θέμανδρος φονές ἐστ[ι] εἰσε τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰσε τὰς φαρθέν[ο] τῶν τότε ἀπυθανόντων ἰν [τοῖ ἱεροῖ] κὰς μὲ προσσθαγενές τῷ φέρ[γ]ο τῷ τότε ἐο[ν]τος ἰνμονφον θε[ῶ]ναι. εἰ δὲ προσσθαγενές τῷ φέρ[γ]ο, κὰς μὲ φονές, ἴλαον ἐναι.¹

¹ Buck, no. 16, p. 174. 'In the case of anyone condemned by the oracle or condemned by judicial process to confiscation of property, his property with his slaves is to go to the goddess and his houses here are to be divided. Since we, the goddess and the court, have passed sentence on the guilty

The letters ο and ε are used for both long and short sounds. Psilosis occurs throughout. Apocope occurs in κακρίνε (for κατακρίνη) and similar forms. Noticeable is the preposition τέ, shortened form of πεδά, equivalent to μετά, followed by the dative, and ἀπύ followed by the same case. The form φαρθένο is remarkable as showing the double aspirate, and the curious contraction κατόρρέντερον stands for κατὰ τὸ ἄρρέντερον, the adjective meaning 'male' showing the suffix originally used for alternatives as in the form δεξιτέρος, Lat. *dexter, sinister*. κά or κάς stands for καί. The first sentence in Attic would run as follows:

ἔτω ἂν τὸ χρηστήριον κατακρίνη ἢ γνώσει κατακρίθη τῶν χρημάτων, μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι, καὶ οἰκίας . . . τὰς ὧδ' οὔσας.

More than a hundred years later we have an inscription from Tegea dealing with rules governing building contracts. Extracts from this will illustrate the encroachments of Attic upon the dialect. The general appearance is less strange and archaic than that of the fifth-century inscription quoted above:

Εἰ δὲ πόλεμος διακαλύσει τι τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐσδοθέντων ἢ τῶν ἡργασμένων τι φέροι, οἱ τριακάσιοι διαγνόντω τί δεῖ γίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πόσοδομονέντω, εἰς ἂν δέκατοι σφεις πόλεμος ᾗται ὁ καλύων ἢ ἐφθορκῶς τὰ ἔργα, λαφυροπωλίου ἔοντος κατὰ τῆς πόλιος.¹

The disappearance of the digamma will be observed. The first sentence has an intelligible Attic appearance, although it contains the native form ἔσ- for ἐκ and the distinctive τρια-

as follows, that they surrender their inheritance and be for ever excluded from the sacred precinct in the male line, it shall be well. If anything else is permitted contrary to this decision, it shall be impious. This shall be the curse upon. . . . If anyone in the sacred precincts was among the murderers of those who then met their death, in person or any of his descendants in the male line, whether of the men or the girl, it shall be impious in the decision of the oracle; otherwise it shall be well. If Themander was one of the murderers either of the men or of the girl who then lost their lives in the sacred precinct and was not merely a spectator of the crime that then took place, he shall be impious. If he was merely a spectator, and not a murderer, it shall be well.'

¹ Buck, no. 18, p. 178. 'If war interrupts any of the works contracted for or has destroyed any of those already finished, the three hundred are to decide what is to be done. The generals are to provide revenue, if it appears to them that it is war that is interrupting or has destroyed the works, from a sale of captured property against the city's account.'

κάσιοι for Attic -κοσιοι. The second sentence has a more native appearance. The strange πόσοδομ ποίντω resolves into πρόσδομ ποιούντων. The words that follow again are pure Arcadian, the distinctive form εἰκ being employed. The genitive λαφυροπωλίου 'plunder' is Attic in form, but the following prepositional phrase native. A second extract provides equally mixed results:

Μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηδὲ κοινᾶνας γενέσθαι πλέον ἢ δύο ἐπὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔργων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὀφλέτω ἕκαστος πεντήκοντα δαρχμάς, ἐπελασάσθων δὲ οἱ ἄλιασταί· ἱμφαίνεν δὲ τὸμ βολόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖ ἡμίσοι τᾶς ζαμίαι. καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ εἰκ ἂν [τ]ις πλέον ἢ δύο ἔργα ἔχη τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ τῶν δαμ[ο]σίων κατ' εἰ δὲ τινα τρόπον, ὅστις ἂμ μὴ οἱ ἄλιασταί[1] παρετάξωνσι ὁμοθυμαδὸν πάντες, ζαμιώ[σ]θω καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πλεόνων ἔργων κατὺ μῆνα πεντήκοντα δαρχμαῖς, μέστ' ἂν ἐπισ[χ]ῇ πάντα] τὰ ἔργα τὰ πλέονα.¹

In this passage a notable Atticism is the substitution of the form πλέον for the native πλός. On the other hand Arcadian forms such as ἱμφαίνεν, βολόμενον, or the termination -ωνσι, are still found. In another hundred years' time or less the Attic κοινή had conquered.

Closely allied to Arcadian was the dialect of the island of Cyprus. It was not written in the Greek alphabet but in a syllabary peculiar to the island, each symbol representing a syllable, which might consist of a single vowel or of a vowel with consonant preceding. It was an inconvenient mode of writing Greek, as a vowel, not sounded in speech, had to be inserted between any two consonants that came together. Moreover there were no means of distinguishing voiced from unvoiced stops, so that the name of the city Ἐδάλιον, for example, was written *e ta li o ne*. Another peculiarity was the insertion of a consonant probably equivalent to English *y* as a glide between the vowel *i* and a following vowel. This probably represented the true pronunciation. The dialect had

¹ 'There are to be no more than two partners engaged upon any of the works. Otherwise each is to be fined fifty drachmae to be enforced by the heliasts. Whoever desires may lay information, receiving half of the fine. In the same way if anyone undertakes more than two contracts for works either for the temples or in connexion with public buildings in any way whatever, unless the whole body of heliasts approves with one consent, he is to be fined fifty drachmae a month for each additional piece of work, until the additional pieces of work cease.'

peculiarities of its own. The raising and rounding of the vowel *o* in Cyprian took place even in the termination of the third person singular of historic tenses of the middle, which appear as *-τυ*. A strange feature is the occasional appearance of *z* in place of *γ*, giving such forms as *zã* and *ἄzαθός*, and still stranger is the formation of the genitive singular in *-o-* stems as *-ον*. A digamma occurs in the oblique cases of *-i-* stems, as in *πτόλιφι*, inserted possibly on the analogy of *-u-* stems. Peculiar to the dialect is a particle *παι*, meaning 'indeed', originally an adverb of place, locative in form, corresponding to Doric *παί*. The form *εἰ* of the conditional conjunction (Attic *εἰ*) is confined to Cyprian. The preposition *ἐπί* is represented in the dialect by a form *ύ*, perhaps akin to Eng. *out* and Skt. *ud*; and another peculiarity is the replacement of the present stem *διδωμι* by the forms *δυφάνω* and *δώκω*.

The best-known Cyprian inscription is one of considerable length from the city of Idalium, consisting of an agreement between the city and a physician called Onasilus for the care of the wounded during the siege of the city by the Persians allied with the neighbouring city of Citium. It is written in the syllabary. Its date is between the year 449 B.C., when the Athenians withdrew from the island, and 391, when Idalium united with Citium. From the end of the fourth century the syllabary began to fall out of use and inscriptions after that date, written in the Greek alphabet, are in the Attic κοινή dialect. Extracts from the inscription from Idalium will illustrate the peculiarities of the dialect:

Ὅτε τὸν πτόλιν Ἑδάλιον κατέφοργον Μᾶδοι κᾶς Κετίφεες ἰν τοῖ Φίλοκύπρον φέτει τῷ Ὀνασαγόραυ, βασιλεὺς Στασίκυπρος κᾶς ἁ πτόλις Ἑδάλιφεες ἀνογον Ὀνάσιλον τὸν Ὀνασικύπρον τὸν Ἰγατέραν κᾶς τὸς κασιγνέτος Ἰγασθαί τὸς ἀνθρώπος τὸς ἰν τᾷ μάχαι ἰκαμένος ἀνευ μισθῶν. κᾶς παι εὐφρετάσату βασιλεὺς κᾶς ἁ πτόλις Ὀνασίλοι κᾶς τοῖς κασιγνέτοις ἀντὶ τῷ μισθῶν κᾶ ἀντὶ τᾷ ὑχέρων δοφέναι ἐξ τοῖ φοίκοι τῷ βασιλέφος κᾶς ἐξ τᾷ πτόλιφι ἀργύρου τάλαντον ἁ τάλαντον· ἑ δυφάνοι νυ ἀντὶ τῷ ἀργύρον τῷδε, τῷ τάλαντον, βασιλεὺς κᾶς ἁ πτόλις Ὀνασίλοι κᾶς τοῖς κασιγνέτοις ἀπὺ τᾷ ζᾷ τᾷ βασιλέφος τᾷ ἰν τῷ ἰρῶνι τῷ Ἀλαμπριζάται τὸν χῆρον τὸν ἰν τῷ ἐλει τὸν χρυσόμενον Ὀγκαντος ἄλφο κᾶς τᾷ τέρχνιζα τᾷ ἐπιόντα πάντα ἔχεν πανόνιον ὑφαῖς ζαν ἀτελέν. ἑ κᾶ σῖς Ὀνάσιλον ἑ τὸς κασιγνέτος ἑ τὸς παῖδας τὸν παιδῶν τὸν Ὀνασικύπρον ἐξ τῷ χόροι τῷδε ἐξ ὀρύξε, ἰδῆ παι

ὁ ἐξ ὀρύξε, πείσει Ὀνασίλοι κὰς τοῖς κασιγνέτοις ἔ τοῖς παῖσι τὸν ἄργυρον τόνδε, ἀργύρο τάλαντον α' τάλαντον.¹

The chief peculiarities of dialect appearing in this inscription have already been mentioned in the lists of Cyprian or Arcado-Cyprian specialities, and with the help of the translation the text may be elucidated. It should be remembered that η and ω are not used in the Greek transcription, so that ε and ο do duty for both long and short vowels. The form ύ- instead of ἐπί appears in the compound ὑχέρον. The

¹ The following is a translation of this extract: 'When the city of Idalium was besieged by the Persians and the Citians in the year of office of Philocyprus son of Onasagoras, King Stasicyprus and the city of Idalium directed Onasilus son of Onasicyprus the physician and his brothers to attend the men wounded in the fighting. No remuneration was given. And the King and the city agreed that in place of remuneration and reward Onasilus and his brothers be granted one silver talent from the King's private purse and from the treasury. Now in place of this amount of one talent the King and the city grant to Onasilus and his brothers from the King's land in the sacred precincts of Alampriya the land in the marsh adjoining the orchard of Oncas and all the plants that belong to it to hold in full ownership for life (?) free of tax. If anyone expels Onasilus or his brothers or the grandchildren of Onasicyprus from this land, be it known (ἰδέ πται) that whoever expels him shall pay to Onasilus and his brothers or their children the amount agreed upon, one silver talent'.

The extract reads as follows in the Cyprian syllabary: o te ta potoline e ta li o ne ka te vo ro ko ne ma toi ka se ke tie ve se i toi pi lo ku po ro ne ve te i to o na sa ko ra u pa si le use sa ta si ku po ro se ka se a po to li se e ta li e ve se a no ko ne o na si lo ne to no na si ku po ro ne to ni ja te ra ne ka se to se ka si ke ne to se i ja sa tai to se a to ro po se to se i tai ma kai i ki ma me no se a ne u mi si to ne ka sa pai e u ve re ta sa tu pa si le use ka se a po to li se o na si lo i ka se to ise ka si ke ne to ise a ti to mi si to ne ka a ti ta u ke ro ne to ve na i exe to i vo i ko i to i pa si le vo se ka se exe tai po to li vi a la ku ro ta ta e tu va noi nu a ti to a ra ku ro ne to te to ta la to ne pa si le use ka se a po to li se o na si lo i ka se to ise ka si ke ne to ise a pu tai zai tai pa si le vo se ta i to i ro ni toi a la pi ri ja tai to ko ro ne to ni to i clei to ka ra u o me no ne o ka to se a la vo ka se ta te re ki ni ja ta e pi o ta pa ta e ke ne pa no ni o ne u vaise za ne a te le ne e ke si se o na si lo ne e to se ka si ke ne to se e to se pai ta se to pai to ne to no na si ku po ro ne exe to i ko ro i to ite exe o ru xe ite pai o exe o ru xe pei sci o na si lo i ka se to ise ka si ke ne to ise e to ise pai si to na ra ku ro ne to te a ra ku ro ta ta.

words ὕφ' αἰς ζῶν, though their meaning is obviously 'for ever', cannot be clearly interpreted etymologically. It has been suggested¹ that ζῶν is connected with ζῆω and ζῶω 'to live'. The very typical expression ἔ κέ σις, in place of Attic ἐάν τις, will be noticed.

The fourth major division of dialect is that known as West Greek. This divides again into the subsections of North-West Greek covering Aetolia, Locris, Phocis, Achaea, Elis and the islands of Ithaca, Cephallenia and Zacynthus, and Doric, spoken in Corcyra, Acarnania, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Megara, the southern Cyclades, Crete, and in Rhodes and Cos with the surrounding islands and strip of coast. The influence of North-West Greek extended over Boeotia and Thessaly. An important influence was exercised over all the North-West dialects by the hegemony of the Aetolian League in the third century B.C. This political situation produced a North-West Greek κοινὴ which was dominant in the states which were members of the League during the period of its existence. Some distinguishing characteristics of the whole West Greek group are the following: α appears in certain cases where in other dialects we should have ε. Three prominent examples are the forms ἰαρός, ἄρταμις, and κα for κε, the last being also seen in the adverbs of time ὅκα, τόκα, πόκα, corresponding to ὅτε, etc. Boeotian shares all these features with North-West Greek. Very prominent is the retention of τ before ι instead of the change to σ, giving forms such as δίδωσι, φέροντι, -κάτιοι in the numerals, Ποτειδάων, sometimes τύ. Boeotian and Thessalian share this to some extent. The form πρᾶτος occurs in place of πρῶτος in these dialects and in Boeotian, and the form for *four* in West Greek only is τέτορες. The forms of the genitive and dative singular of the personal pronouns are in this group in -εος, -ιν (ἐμέος, τέος, ἐμίν, τίν), though forms in -οι also occur in the dative. Again the plural of the article is τοί, ταί, as in Homer. The adverbs of place, which in Attic terminate in -ου, are formed in West Greek in -ει (e.g. πτεῖ, τεῖδε, αὐτεῖ, μηδαμεί). Adverbs denoting *place whence* in many instances end in -ω, the forms

¹ See Buck, p. 182, footnote.

being ablatives. This group, as opposed to all other dialects, retained the original termination of the first person plural of primary tenses in *-μες* (e.g. *φέρομες*) corresponding to Skt. *-mas*, Lat. *-mus*. Another prominent characteristic is the formation of the future in *-σεω*. Finally this group may be recognised by the position of the words at the beginning of a conditional sentence, *αἴ τίς κα*, as opposed to *αἴ κέ τις*, *ἐάν τις*, *ἔ κέ σις*.

The North-West Greek dialects, as opposed to Doric, carried further the change from *ε* to *α*, an older *ε* before *ρ* being regularly represented by *α*, as in *φάρειν*, *πατάρα*, *ἀμάρα*, *φespάριος*. Most of the dialects show *στ* where elsewhere *σθ* occurs. Certain of these dialects form the dative plural of consonant stems in *-οις* (as *πάντοις*), while in some there are traces of the Aeolic termination *-εσσι*. Another characteristic is the formation of the middle participle with the *ε*-grade instead of the *ο*-grade, producing forms such as *καλόμενος*, *ποιείμενος*.

The principal North-West Greek subdivisions are Phocian, West Locrian and Elean. The first includes the dialect of Delphi. Attic influence showed itself in Phocian in the middle of the fourth century B.C., and we find Amphictyonic decrees in the Attic *κοινή* in the third century. The Aetolian conquest however brought with it the North-West Greek *κοινή*, which, mingled with certain forms belonging to the native dialect, continued in use till the second century A.D.

The following is an inscription from Delphi dating from the fifth century B.C.

Τὸν φοῖνον μὲ φάρεν ἐξ τοῦ δρόμου αἱ δὲ κα φάρει, ἡλιαξάστο τὸν θεὸν
ἡδὶ κα κεραίεται καὶ μεταθυσάτο κάποτεισάτο πέντε δραχμάς· τούτου δὲ
τοῖι καταγορέσαντι τὸ ἡμισσον.¹

Most of the characteristic forms the inscription displays have been remarked upon above. The form *ἡμισσον* is

¹ Buck, no. 50, p. 206. 'The wine must not be taken out of the stadium. If anyone takes it, let him propitiate the god for whom it is mixed and expiate his wrongdoing by a sacrifice and pay five drachmae. Half of this sum is to go to the one who brought the charge.'

peculiar, deriving from an older *-τφον, an extension of the *tu-* suffix seen in the other dialects (ἡμους, etc.).

A manumission decree from Delphi, dated 186 B.C., towards the close of the Aetolian hegemony, will illustrate the confusion of Phocian, Attic and North-West Greek κοινή elements:

*Ἀρχοντος [N]ικοβούλου μηνὸς Βουκατίου ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Νεοπάτρα Ὀρθαίου Δελφίς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σώματα γυναικεῖα δύο αἷς ὀνόματα Ζωπύρα, Σωσίχα, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν ἕξ, καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν Ζωπύρα, Σωσίχα τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὠνάν, ἔφ' ὧτε ἐλευθέρως εἶμεν καὶ ἀνεφάπτους ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πάντα βίον. βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον· Δαιμένης Ὀρέστα Δελφός. παραμει[ι]νάντων δὲ Ζωπύρα, Σωσίχα παρὰ Νεοπάτραν ἄκρι καὶ ζῳῇ Νεοπάτρα προέουσαι τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν ἀνεγκλήτως· εἰ δὲ τί καὶ μὴ ποίεοντι Ζωπύρα ἢ Σωσίχα τῶν ποτιτασσόμενων ὑπὸ Νεοπάτρας καθὼς γέγραπται δυναταὶ οὔσαι, ἐξέστω Νεοπάτραι κολάζειν καθὼς καὶ αὐτὰ δειληταὶ καὶ ἄλλωι ὑπὲρ Νεοπάτραν ἀζαμίσις δυντοὶς καὶ ἀνυποδίκωις πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίς. εἰ δὲ τί καὶ πάθῃ Νεοπάτρα, ἐλευθέραι ἔστω Ζωπύρα καὶ Σωσίχα κυριεύουσαι αὐτοσαυτῶν καὶ προέουσαι ὁ καὶ θέλωντι, καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὠνάν. εἰ δὲ τίς καὶ ἀπειτηται Ζωπύρας ἢ Σωσίχας ἐπεὶ καὶ τελευτάσῃ Νεοπάτρα, βέβαιοι παρεχέτω ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὠνάν κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντων συλέοντες ὡς ἐλευθέρως οὔσας ἀζαμίσις ὄντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίς. εἰ δὲ τί καὶ ἀζητωθῶντι περὶ Νεοπάτραν πεπιονηραμένην ἢ τῶν Νεοπάτρας ὑπαρχόντων τι, κύριοι ἐόντω οἱ ἐπινομοὶ κολάζοντες αὐτὰς καθ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῖς δοκῇ ἀζαμίσις ὄντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι πάσας δίκας. μάρτυρες· τοὶ ἱερεῖς Ζένων, Ἀθαμβος, τῶν ἀρχόντων Εὐκλείδης, Ἰδιώτα Ἱεροκλῆς, Χαρίξενος, Βάχχιος.¹

A feature peculiar to the dialect of Delphi in the above inscription is the termination of the noun expressing the

¹ Buck, no. 53, p. 211. 'In the archonship of Nicobulos in the month Bucatius Neopatra daughter of Orthaeus of Delphi sold two female slaves whose names are Zopyra and Sosicha to the Pythian Apollo on the following terms: the price is six silver minae; Zopyra and Sosicha have entrusted the purchase-money to the god on condition that they are free and clear from all interference for the term of their natural lives. The guarantor in accordance with law is Damentes son of Orestes of Delphi. Zopyra and Sosicha shall remain with Neopatra so long as Neopatra lives carrying out her orders to the best of their ability without reproach. If Zopyra or Sosicha fail to carry out any order of Neopatra's in accordance with their agreement when they have it in their power to carry it out, it shall be lawful for Neopatra to punish them in such manner as she wishes and likewise for any other person beside Neopatra without forfeiture or liability of any suit at law or forfeiture. If anything should happen to Neopatra, Zopyra and Sosicha shall be free, their own mistresses and able

agent, βεβαιωτήρ. In Attic this would be -της. The order εἰ δέ τί κα persists in the face of Attic influence, though the form εἰ as opposed to αἰ is due to the Attic κοινή.

The neighbouring Locrian dialects provide only scanty extant material. East Locrian shows Aeolic phenomena, notably the dative plural forms in -εσσι and the patronymic adjective. Only two early inscriptions come from West Locris, the rest being in the North-West Greek κοινή. A curious form confined to Locrian is φρίν for the normal πρίν. The consonant of the preposition ἐκ is assimilated to the consonant of the noun that follows, the preposition being written simply as ἐ. Another peculiarity is the use of κατά with the genitive in the meaning 'according to'. The following is an extract from the inscription on a tablet found at Oeanthea in West Locris. It dates from the second half of the fifth century B.C., and consists of a list of regulations with regard to foreigners' rights:

τὸν πρόξενον, αἱ ψευδέα προξένοι, διπλείοι θοίεστο. αἱ κ' ἀνδιχάζοντι τοὶ ξενοδίκαι, ἐπομότας ἡλέστο ὁ ξένος ὁπάγον τὰν δίκαν ἐχθὸς προξένο καὶ ριθίο ξένο ἀριστίνδαν ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς μυριααῖς καὶ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκ' ἄνδρας, ἐπὶ ταῖς μειόνοις ἑνὲ' ἄνδρας. αἱ κ' ὁ ρασστός ποι τὸν ραστὸν δικαζεται κατ' τὰς συνβολὰς, δαιμοργὸς ἡλέστοι τὸς ἠορκομότας ἀριστίνδαν τὰν πεντορκίαν ὁμόσαντας. τὸς ἠορκομότας τὸν αὐτὸν ἠόρκον ὁμνύνει, πλεθὺν δὲ νικῶν.¹

to act as they wish, as they have entrusted the purchase-money to the god. If anyone interferes with Zopyra and Sosicha after the decease of Neopatira, the guarantor shall hand over the purchase-money in full to the god in accordance with law. Likewise those who are present shall have the right to rescue them as being free women without forfeiture or liability of any suit at law or forfeiture. If they are convicted of having done any wrong to Neopatira or any of her goods her legal representatives shall have the right to punish them as they think fit, and they shall be without forfeiture or liability of any suit at law or forfeiture.'

¹ Buck, no. 56, p. 218. 'The consul who carries out his duties falsely shall be fined double. If the special judges disagree, the foreigner who is bringing the suit shall select jurors from the most honourable men excepting the consul and his private host, fifteen in cases involving a mina or more, nine in those involving less. If citizen proceeds against citizen in accordance with the treaty, the magistrates shall select jurors from the most honourable men having taken the fivefold oath. The jurors shall take the same oath, and the case is to be decided by a majority.'

It will be noticed that this inscription is too early for the introduction of the Ionic alphabet. The form ὀπάγων is contracted for ὀ ἐπάγων. The aspirated form ἐχθός (for ἐκτός) is curious. The inscription also contains an instance of the use of κατ(ά) with the genitive in a sense in which all other dialects use it with the accusative. The dative form μειόνης is worthy of remark.

The most distinctive of the non-Doric West Greek dialects is that of Elis. The change of ε to α is carried even further, taking place after as well as before ρ, before a final ν, and even sometimes in other positions. Similarly in Elean the η of other dialects is regularly represented by ᾱ. In two instances ε takes the place of normal ι. In certain early Elean inscriptions ζ appears in place of normal δ, indicating possibly a dental spirant (Eng. *th* in *then*) as in modern Greek. Confined to this dialect is the elision of the vowel or diphthong, even sometimes the vowel and final consonant, of the article, producing forms such as τῆροϊ (for τοῖ ἱεροῖ) or ταῦτῳ (for τὼς αὐτῷ). A surprising form of dual dative plural is seen in δυοίοις. The preposition ἀνευς, which in Elean represents the ἀνευ of other dialects, is followed in this dialect by the accusative instead of the genitive. The verbal termination -εω appears in Elean as -ειω, this dialect preserving the regular phonetic development from older *-εφίω. A direction or command is expressed by the optative with the particle κα. Digamma occurs in Elean initially even before a consonant, as in Cyprian. Psilosis occurs. Rhotacism of a final ς is a feature of the later inscriptions of the dialect, occurring sporadically in the earlier.

The dialect is found in inscriptions until the third century B.C., when the Attic κοινή begins to appear. The following inscription dating from the opening years of the sixth century B.C. illustrates the dialect at an early stage:

* Ἀ φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις. πατρίαν θαρρῆν καὶ γενεάν καὶ ταῦτῳ. αἱ ζέ τις καταραύσειε φάρρενον Φαλείο, αἱ ζέ μὲ 'πιθεῖαν τὰ ζίκαια ὅρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι καὶ τοῖ βασιλᾶς, ζέκα μυαῖς κα ἀποτίνωι ρέκαστος τῶν μὲ 'πιποεόντων κα(θ)υταῖς τοῖ Ζι 'Ολυμπίοι. ἐπενπῶι ζέ κ' 'Ελλανοζίκας καὶ τᾶλλα ζίκαια ἐπενπῆτο ἄ ζαμιοργία. αἱ ζέ μὲ 'νπῶι, ζίφυιον ἀποτινέτο ἐν μαστράαι.

αὶ ζέ τις τὸν ἀπαισθέντα ζικαῖον ἱμάσκοι, ἐν ταῖς ζεκαμναῖαις κ' ἐνέχο[ι]το, αὶ
 φειζὸς ἱμάσκοι. καὶ πατριᾶς ὁ γροφεὺς ταύ[τ]ά κα παάσκοι, [αἰ τ]ιν'
 [ἄς]ικέο[ι]. ὁ π[ι]ναξ ἱαρός Ὀλυμπίαι.¹

The peculiarities of the dialect enumerated above will be recognised in this inscription, notably the substitution of ζ for δ and rhotacism. The form δρ for δς is startling.

The following extract from an inscription of the first half of the third century B.C. shows Attic influence but the retention of rhotacism and other characteristics:

ἦμεν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας, καὶ γὰρ καὶ βοικίαν
 ἔγκτησιν, καὶ ἀτέλειαν, καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς ἀγώνοις, τῶν
 τε θυσιῶν καὶ τιμῶν πασῶν μετέχην, καθὼρ καὶ τοὶ λοιποὶ θεαροδόκοι καὶ
 εὐεργέται μετέχοντι. δόμεν δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ Δαμοκράτῃ τὸν ταμίαν ξένια τὰ
 μέγιστα ἐκ τῶν νόμων. τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τὸ γεγονὸς ἀπὸ τῶν βωλῶν γραφέν
 ἐν χάλκῳ ἀνατεθεῖ ἐν τῷ ἱερὸν τῷ Διὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ. τὰν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν
 τῶν ἀναθέστω ποιήσασαι Αἰσχίναν τὸν ἐπιμελητὰν τῶν ἵππων. περὶ δὲ
 τῷ ἀποσταλῶμεν τοῖς Τενεδίοις τὸ γεγονὸς ψάφισμα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεται
 Νικόδρομος ὁ βωλογράφος, ὅπως δοθεῖ τοῖς θεαροῖς τοῖς ἐν Μίλητον
 ἀποστελλομένοις ποτὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διδυμείων.²

¹ Buck, no. 57, p. 219. 'This agreement is made for the Eleans. His clan, family and property shall not be liable. If a charge is brought against a male citizen, and the chief magistrate and the king-archons refuse to impose the due fines, each of those who so refuse shall pay ten minae consecrated to Olympian Zeus. The Hellanodica shall enforce this and the damiorgia shall enforce the other fines. If he refuse to enforce it, he shall pay double in his accounting. If one who is accused in a case involving a fine be assaulted, the offender shall be mulcted to the amount of ten minae, if his action was deliberate. And the secretary of the clan shall undergo the same penalty if he wrongs anyone. The tablet is sacred at Olympia.'

² Buck, no. 61, p. 223. 'He is to have security in time of war and peace, possession of land and a house, freedom from taxation, a front seat in the Dionysiac games, and a share of all sacrifices and offerings as all other directors and benefactors have. Damocrates the steward is to provide him with the best hospitality that the laws allow. And the decree made by the Senate is to be inscribed in bronze and set up in the temple of Olympian Zeus. Aeschinas who is in charge of the mares is to see to the setting up. As regards sending the decree to Tenedos Nicodromus the secretary is to see that it is given to the ambassadors who are being sent to Miletus to the sacrifice and the games of Castor and Pollux.'

Attic forms would be as follows:

εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας. . .

The inscription is a proxeny decree for Damocrates of Tenedos.

Before leaving the North-West Greek dialects we will give a short extract from the text of a treaty made between the Aetolians and Acarnanians about the year 275 B.C. and inscribed in the dialect, known as the North-West Greek κοινή, current among the members and subjects of the Aetolian League during the Aetolian domination:

Ἀγαθὴ τύχαι. Συνθήκα Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνάνοις ὁμόλογος. εἰρήνην εἶμεν καὶ φιλίαν ποτ' ἀλλήλους, φίλους ἔοντας καὶ συμμάχους ἅματ'α τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὅρια ἔχοντας τὰς χώρας τὸν Ἀχελῷον ποταμὸν ὅχι εἰς θάλασσαν. τὰ μὲν ποτ' ὥς τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ποταμοῦ Αἰτωλῶν εἶμεν, τὰ δὲ ποθ' ἐσπέραν Ἀκαρνάνων πλὴν τοῦ Πραντὸς καὶ τὰς Δέμφιδος· ταύτας δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οὐκ ἀντιπιοῦνται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τερμόνων τοῦ Πραντὸς, εἰ μέγ' κα Στράτιοι καὶ Ἀγραῖοι συγχωρεῶντι αὐτοὶ ποτ' αὐτούς, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω, εἰ δὲ μή, Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ τερμαζάντω τὰμ Πραντίδα χώραν, αἰρεθέντες ἑκατέρων δέκα πλὴν Στρατίων καὶ Ἀγραίων· καθὼς δὲ κα τερμάζωντι, τέλειον ἔστω.¹

In this inscription the occurrence of *ā* as opposed to Attic *η* will be noticed, as also the use of *ποτί* in place of *πρός* and of the particle *κα*. The verbal terminations in *-ντι* are non-Attic. On the other hand the encroaching Attic influence is seen in forms such as *εἰ* and *ἔστω*.

The second great subdivision of the West Greek dialect group is Doric. This again subdivides into three sections, each containing local variations. Thus the dialects of Laconia, Heraclea and Messenia stand in a small group by themselves, that of the Argolid in another, and in a third the local dialects of the Doric islands, Crete, and Pamphylia.

Perhaps the most noticeable feature of Laconian is the change of medial *s* to *h*. This will appear in the following inscription from Sparta dating from the fifth century B.C. and recording the athletic victories of Damonon and his son:

Δαμόνον ἀνέθεκε Ἀθαναία[ι] Πολιάχοι
νικάσας ταυτὰ ἡᾶτ' οὐδὲς πέποκα τὸν νῦν.
Τάδε ἐνίκηε Δαμ[όνον] τοῖ αὐτῷ τεθρίππο[ι] αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον. ἐν Γαῖαφόχῳ
τετράκι[ν] καὶ Ἀθάναια τετ[ράκιν] κέλευθύνια τετ[ράκιν]. καὶ Ποιοῖδα
Δαμόνο[ν] ἐνίκη Ἡέλει, καὶ ἡο κέλ[εξ] ἡαμ]ᾶ, αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον ἐν ἡεβόῃαις
ἡίπποις ἡεπτάκιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῷ ἡίππον κέκ τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ [ἡίππο]... καὶ

¹ Buck, no. 62, p. 223.

Δαμόνον ἐνίκε παῖς Ἴδν ἐν Γαιαφόχο στάδιον καὶ [δ']αυλον... ὑπὸ δὲ Εὐπίππον ἔφορον τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνον, Ἀθάναια ἐνθεβόηαις ἡίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιόχιον καὶ ἡο κέλεξ μῖα ἀμέρας ἡμαῖ ἐνίκε, καὶ ἡο ἡυῖος στάδιον ἡμαῖ ἐνίκε...¹

The Attic κοινή had replaced the dialect by the second century B.C., although in the second century A.D. there was a revival of the dialect, which in all probability has survived till the present day and is represented in the patois known as Tsakonian.

The dialect of Heraclea showed certain peculiarities of its own, such as the vocalic combination *ω* for *εο* of other dialects before a single consonant, the dative plural of present participles active in *-ασσι*, the superlative form *πολιστός* for *πλεῖστος*, the form *κλαίγω* for *κλείω*, sigmatic formations of the third person plural perfect middle, indicative and subjunctive (such as *γεγράφαι*), different vowel gradation seen in the form *ἐρρηγεία* in place of *ἐρρωγυία*, a perfect infinitive active in *-ημεν*. The following is an extract from the lengthy report of a boundary commission appointed to define the bounds of the property of two temples at Heraclea. The inscription dates from the close of the fourth century B.C.:

Ἐστάσαμεν δὲ καὶ ὄρωσ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πλευριάδος ἄνω, ἡένα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντόμῳ τῷ πᾶρ Πανδοσίαν τῷ πᾶρ τὰ Ἡρωίδεια τῷ ὀρίζοντός τάν τε ἡιάραν γᾶν καὶ τάν φιδίαν ἀνωρίζαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποροῶν ἐς τάν φιδίαν γᾶν, ἡως μὴ καταλυμακωθῆς ἀδηλωθείη καθὼς τοὶ ἔμπροσθα ὄροι, ἄλλον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντόμῳ τῷ πᾶρ τὰ Φιντία ἔγοντος ἐστάσαμεν πᾶρ τὴν βυβλίαν καὶ τὴν διώρυγα ἀνωρίζαντες ἡωσαύτως ἐς τάν φιδίαν γᾶν... τοὶ δὲ μισθωσάμενοι καρπεύσονται τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἡς καὶ πρωγγύως ποτάγωντι καὶ τὸ μίσθωμα ἀποδίδωντι πᾶρ φέτος αἰὲ Πανάμῳ μηνὸς προτερεῖαι· καὶ κ' ἔμπροσθα ἀποδίδωντι, ἀπάξοντι ἐς τὸν δαμόσιον ῥογὸν καὶ παρμετρήσονται τοῖς σιταγέρταις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν φετέων τῷ δαμοσίῳ χοί μεστώς τῶς χοῦς κριθῶς κοθαρῶς δοκίμας, ἡολῶς καὶ ἡα γὰ φέρει· ποτάξοντι δὲ πρωγγύως

¹ Buck, no. 66, p. 227. 'Damonon dedicated this stone to Athena Poliachus, having been victor as never any of those now living. These are the victories that Damonon won with his own four-horse chariot, driving himself: four times in the games of the Earth-carrier, four times in those of Athena, and four times at the Eleusinia. And at the games of Poseidon Damonon was victor at Helos, and his steed with him, driving himself seven times with young mares bred from his own mares and his own stallion... and when a boy Damonon was victor in the games of the Earth-carrier in the single and double course...'

τοῖς πολιανόμοις τοῖς αἰ ἐπὶ τῶν φετέων ἔντασιν πᾶρ πενταητηρίδα, ὡς κα ἐθέλοντες τοὶ πολιανόμοι δέκωνται. καὶ αἱ τινὶ κα ἄλλωι παρδῶντι τὰν γὰν, ἡὰν κα αὐτοὶ μεμισθῶσωνται, ἡ ἀρτύσωντι ἡ ἀποδῶνται τὰν ἐπικαρπίαν, ἂν αὐτὰ τὰ παρῆξονται πρῶγγύως ἡοι παρλαβόντες ἡ ἡοῖς κ' ἀρτύσει ἡ ἡοι πριάμενοι τὰν ἐπικαρπίαν, ἂν ἡὰ καὶ ἡο ἐξ ἀρχῆς μεμισθωμένος.¹

Attic influence is perceptible in this inscription.

The following is an inscription from Argos dating from about 500 B.C. and illustrates the peculiar Doric of that district:

[Θ]εσαυρὸν [τῶν] τᾶς Ἀθαναίας αἱ τις [ἐ τὰ]ν βολὰν τ[ὰν] ἀνφ' Ἀρίστονα
ἐ τὸν συναρτύνοντας [ἐ ἄ]λλον τινὰ ταμίαν εὐθύνοι τέλος ἔχον ἐ δικάσ[ζοι]
ἐ δικάσζοιτο τὸν γρασμάτων ἡένεκα τᾶς καταθέσιος ἐ τᾶς ἀλιάσσιος, τρέτο
καὶ δαμεύεσσο ἔνς Ἀθαναίαν. ἡὰ δὲ βολὰ ποτελάτο ἡαντιτυχόνσα· αἱ δὲ
κα μέ, αὐτοὶ ἐνόχοι ἔντο ἔνς Ἀθαναίαν.²

The noun ἀλιάσσις is interesting, having the meaning of 'act of the aliaea', a name for the public assembly confined to

¹ Buck, no. 74, p. 231. 'We also fixed the boundaries on the upper side, one on the road by Pandosia alongside the Heroidea, which marks the boundary between the sacred and private land setting it back from the springs on to the private land, so that it should not be covered with stones and be lost as was the case with the previous boundaries. We fixed another on the road passing by the property of Phintias along the reeds and the dyke having set it back in a similar manner as far as the private land . . . those who rent it shall take the profits for ever, as long as they produce sureties and pay their rent year by year continually on the first of the month of Panamus. If they thresh before this date, they shall take the corn to the public granary and measure to the officials who are in charge of the yearly receipts full measures of good clean barley with the public measure, of such quality as the land produces. They shall produce sureties to the magistrates who are from time to time in charge of the yearly receipts every five years, according as the magistrates are willing to receive them. If they assign to anyone else the land they have rented, or devise it by will or sell the harvest-rights, those to whom it is assigned or to whom it is devised or who purchase the harvest-rights shall provide sureties in the same manner as the original lessee.'

² Buck, no. 78, p. 241. 'With regard to the treasures of Athena if any magistrate demands enquiry into the conduct of the council under the presidency of Ariston or of the body of officers or of any other treasury official, or if any suit is entertained or brought by anyone because of the submission of the proposals or because of the action of the assembly, he shall be banished and his property confiscated to Athena. The council which is in office shall enforce this or be themselves liable to Athena.'

this dialect. The Attic κοινή began to encroach upon this dialect from Epidaurus in the east as early as the fourth century B.C.

The dialect of Megara has two peculiarities. Proper names compounded with θεός show only one vowel, Θεε- before a single consonant and Θεο- before two. The second is the form σά¹ representing the neuter plural τῖνα deriving from an older *τῖα. Attic forms appear from the end of the fourth century B.C. The following is an inscription from Selinus dating from the fifth century:

[Δι]ά τὸς θεός τό[σ]δε νικῶντι τοι Σελινόν[τιοι· δι]ά τὸν Δία νικῶμές καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ] δ[ι]ὰ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π[ο]τ[ε]ρ[ι]ε[ῖ]δ[α] να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδης καὶ δι' Ἀθ[α]ν[α]ν καὶ διὰ Μολοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικρά[τ]ειαν καὶ δι[α] τὸς ἄλλος θεός, [δ]ιὰ δ[ε] Δία μάλιστ[α]. φιλί[ας] δὲ γενομένας ἐν χρυσέο[ι] ἐλά[σα]ντα[ς, τὰ δ'] ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολλάσαντ[ας] ἐς τὸ Ἀ[π]ολλ[ο]νίου καθέμεν, τὸ Διό[ς] προ[π]ο[ρ]ά[ψα]ντες. τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ἐξέκ[οντα τ]αλάντων ἔμεν.²

The most distinctive of all Doric dialects is that of Crete. Thus the form of the preposition πρὸς is πορτί, not προτί. Very noticeable is the representation of λ by υ giving forms such as ἀδευπιαί for ἀδελφαί. This means that the liquid had come to be pronounced very far back in the mouth. Again we find the form μαῖτυς for μάρτυς, probably arrived at by dissimilation starting in the oblique cases. Sometimes the combination σθ appears as θθ, κτ as ττ (as in νύττι), σγ as γ, ρν as νν (as in ὄννιθα), μν as μμ. Assimilation of final ζ is more frequent in Cretan than elsewhere. Thus we find τιλ λξι for τις λξι, τᾶδ δαίσιος, τὰθ θυγατέρας. Even assimilation of final ρ occurs, as in ἀνέδ δδι (for ἀνήρ). Morphological peculiarities are the formation of the accusative plural of *consonant* stems in -ανς, the form τρῖνς as the accusative plural of τρεῖς, the occurrence of the pronominal form ὅτερος for ὁπότερος, dative ὅτιμι for ὅτινι, ὁτέιος for ὁπότεος. The dative form

¹ Compare the Attic-Ionic forms ἔττα, ἄσσα = ἔτινα, which derive from an older ἄ-τῖα.

² Buck, no. 91, p. 249. The translation of the last sentences is as follows: 'When peace is made we shall make golden statues and engrave these names upon them and set them up in the temple of Apollo, writing the name of Zeus first. The gold is to be of the weight of sixty talents'.

ὅπαι is used as a final conjunction. The infinitive termination may be -μην as well as -μεν. Certain deponents take an active form in Cretan, πεύθω, ὠνέω, ἐπελεῦσαι.

The influence of the Attic and Doric κοινή made itself felt earlier in the eastern and western extremities of the island, although the relationship of inscriptions from these parts to those of central Crete is not quite clear, there being certain variations which cannot be attributed to the influence of κοινή. The most well-known Cretan inscription is the long list of regulations known as the Gortynian Law Code, from which the following is an extract:

Ἄς κ' ὁ πατὴρ δόει, τὸν τὸ πατὴρς κρεμάτων παρ υἱός με ἐνεῖθαι μεδὲ καταθεῖσθαι· ἅτι δέ κ' αὐτὸς πάσεται ἔ ἀπολάκει ἀποδιδόθθω, αἱ κα λῆι. μεδὲ τὸν πατέρα τὰ τὸν τέκνον ἅτι κ' αὐτοὶ πάσσονται ἔ ἀπολάκοντι. μεδὲ τὰ τῶς γυναικὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποδόθθαι μεδ' ἐπισπένσαι, μεδ' υἱὸν τὰ τῶς ματρός. αἱ δέ τις πρίαιτο ἔ καταθεῖτο ἔ ἐπισπένσαιτο, ἄλλῃ δ' ἔγρατ[τα]ι, αἱ τὰδε τὰ γράμματα ἔγ[ρατται, τὰ] μ[ε]ν κρέματα ἐπὶ τῇ ματρὶ ἔμεν κέπτι τῇ γυναικί, ὁ δ' ἀποδόμενος ἔ καταθῆνς ἔ ἐπισπένσανς τῷ πριαμένοι ἔ καταθεμένοι ἔ ἐπισπενσαμένοι διτπλεῖ καταστασεῖ καὶ τί κ' ἄλλ' ἄτας εἰ, τὸ ἀπλόον· τὸν δὲ πρόθθα με ἐνδικον ἔμεν. αἱ δέ κ' ὁ ἀντίμολος ἀπομολεῖ ἀντὶ τὸ κρέος δι κ' ἀντιμολοῦντι με ἔμεν τῶς ματ[ρ]ὸς ἔ τῶς γυναικὸς, μολὲν ὅπε κ' ἐπιβᾶλλει, παρ τῷ δικαστῇ ἔ φεκάστο ἔγρατται. αἱ δέ κ' ἀποθάνει μάτερ τέκνα καταλιπόνσα, τὸν πατέρα καρτερόν ἔμεν τὸν ματρίον, ἀποδόθθαι δὲ με μεδὲ καταθῆμεν, αἱ κα με τὰ τέκνα ἐπαινεσεῖ δρομέες ἰόντες. [α] δέ τις ἄλλῃ πρίαιτο ἔ καταθεῖτο, τὰ μὲν κρέματα ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἔμεν, τῷ δὲ πριαμένοι ἔ καταθεμένοι τὸν ἀποδόμενον ἔ τὸν καταθέντα τὰν διτπλεῖαν καταστᾶσαι τῶς τιμᾶς, καὶ τί κ' ἄλλ' ἄτας εἰ, τὸ ἀπλόον. αἱ δέ κ' ἄλλαν ὅπνιει, τὰ τέκνα [τῷ]ν [μ]ατρίον καρτερόνς ἔμεν.¹

¹ Buck, no. 110, p. 261. 'The property of the father shall not be purchased nor mortgaged from the son during the father's lifetime. The son may sell what he himself has acquired or inherited, if he wishes. The father may not alienate property that the children have acquired or inherited. The husband may not sell or covenant to sell the wife's property, nor the son the mother's. If any be purchased, mortgaged, or covenanted to be sold contrary to this law and subsequent to its promulgation, the property shall remain in possession of the mother or the wife, and the seller, mortgagor or covenantor shall pay double its value to the purchaser, mortgagee or prospective purchaser and the amount of any other fine. Transactions that have taken place previous to the promulgation of the law shall not be subject to penalty. If the opponent denies with reference to the matter in dispute that the property belongs to the mother or wife, action shall be brought where it lies before the judge appointed in each case. If a mother die leaving issue, the father shall

Of interest is the word *δρομέες* meaning 'of age'. The literal sense is 'runners', and the meaning arises from the fact that boys below a certain age were not allowed in the *gymnasia* (*δρόμοι*).

In addition to the features peculiar to each dialect there were naturally characteristics that overlapped, thus complicating the relationship between the various groups. Thus Arcadian shares with the West Greek dialects the forms in -α for the numeral hundreds, while it also shares with the eastern groups the -σ- in the same forms.¹ It also shows ξ in the formation of the future and sigmatic aorists of stems other than gutturals, the guttural intruding itself by analogy with true guttural stems, giving forms such as *δικάκσει*, *ἐργάξασθαι*, *δείπνιξεν*, *παρετάξωνσι*. Arcado-Cyprian shares with the North-Western group (not Doric) the use of the preposition *ἐν*² with the accusative, the extended form *εἰς* (or *ἐνς*) being used elsewhere. Arcadian shares with Boeotian and Elean the formation of the dative in -οι instead of in -ωι. This is probably an original locative, surviving in place of the dative in these three dialects, a quite intelligible phenomenon. The distribution of patronymics in -ωνδᾶς, -ονδᾶς is interesting. They occur frequently in Boeotian, appearing also in Thessalian, Phocian, Megarian and Euboean.

Again Arcadian shares with Attic-Ionic the form of the conjunction *εἰ* and the particle *ἄν* as opposed to the forms *αἰ* and *κα*, and the whole Arcado-Cyprian group shares with Attic-Ionic the formation of the infinitive in -ναι.

The formation of the dative plural in -εσσι is an Aeolic phenomenon, but occurs also in Locrian, a near neighbour of Boeotian. Aeolic and the Arcado-Cyprian group share the

take possession of the mother's property, but shall have no power to sell or mortgage it without the approval of the children when they are of age. If any is purchased or mortgaged by other means, the property shall belong to the children, and the seller or mortgagor shall pay double the value to the purchaser or mortgagee, and the amount of any other fine. If he takes another spouse, the children shall take possession of the mother's property.'

¹ West-Greek -καρτοί, Arcad. -κασσοί, eastern -κοσσοί.

² The same use occurs in Pindar. Cf. Latin *in* with both cases.

forms $\delta\upsilon$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ and the formation of the contracted verbs in $-\mu\iota$ ($\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\iota$). These facts bring these groups into a certain relationship, as these forms were not inherited and cannot be supposed to have developed spontaneously. The development of r and l to op , etc. (in place of αp , etc.) also occurs in these two groups. The form $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$ for $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is found in Arcadian, Lesbian, Boeotian, Argolic, Thera and Cretan. It is a survival which remained independently no doubt in these separate dialects and would not indicate any close relationship.

The change of ϵ to ι before a vowel took place in Cyprian, Boeotian and three Doric dialects, though there are indications that elsewhere it was also close. In certain dialects, namely Arcado-Cyprian, Elean, Laconian, Heracleian and Cretan, the so-called 'spurious' diphthongs $\epsilon\iota$ and ou were identified with η and ω . This distribution might well have been due to chance. Aeolic is joined by Cyprian, Elean and also Homer in preserving the oblique forms in $-\eta(\phi)\sigma$, $-\eta(\phi)\iota$ of the nouns in $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. Eastern Ionic and the easternmost Doric dialects are connected by their mutual lengthening of the vowel before the combination $-\nu\phi$ after the dropping of the digamma, giving forms such as $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\sigma$ or $\xi\acute{\eta}\nu\sigma$ as opposed to $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma$. Psilosis occurs in the easternmost dialects, Eastern Ionic, Cyprian, Lesbian and Cretan, but also in Elean, and rhotacism is confined to Euboean, Elean and Laconian. In all these three dialects its manifestations are different and it is probable that it arose in each completely independently.¹

The change of $\lambda\tau$, $\lambda\theta$ to $\nu\tau$, $\nu\theta$ occurs in Arcadian and in the dialects of Heraclea, Megara, Corinth and Argos with some Italian Doric colonies. Obviously it is a Peloponnesian phenomenon, and its occurrence in the Doric dialects is accounted for by the proximity of Arcadian, to which it probably originally belonged. Secondary $-\nu\varsigma$ is retained in Arcadian, Thessalian, Argolic and Cretan, giving forms such as $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\alpha$ opposed to Attic $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$ or Lesbian $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$. This is perhaps a case of independent survival. The form $\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ for the

¹ Rhotacism of intervocalic $-s-$ was a feature of prehistoric Latin, giving forms such as *Aurora*, *Veneris*, etc.

accusative plural of the article occurs in Arcadian, Thessalian, and certain Doric dialects. The development of the combination $\rho\varsigma$ to $\rho\rho$ takes place in a variety of dialects including Boeotian, Attic, Euboean, Arcadian, Phocian, Elean and two Doric dialects. The combination $\tau\tau$ from $*\kappa\dot{\iota}$, $*\chi\dot{\iota}$ instead of $\sigma\sigma$ occurs in Boeotian, Attic, Euboean and Cretan. Boeotian and Cretan are alone in developing $\tau\tau$ from $*\tau\dot{\iota}$ instead of the sibilant of other dialects, while Lesbian shares with various West Greek dialects the combination $\sigma\sigma$. The termination $-\upsilon$ in certain adverbs of place occurs in Lesbian, Phocian, Argolic, Rhodian and Cretan. The termination descends directly from Indo-European and may therefore be said to be an independent survival in each of these dialects. The form $\epsilon\varsigma$ of the preposition $\epsilon\varsigma$ occurs in Thessalian, Boeotian, Arcadian and Cretan.

Arcadian shares with Phocian the formation of the third person plural perfect indicative in $-\alpha\sigma\iota$, $-\alpha\tau\iota$. The formation of the third plural of the imperative in $-\nu\tau\omega$ is shared by Boeotian, Arcadian and various Doric dialects, while that in $-\nu\tau\omega\nu$ occurs in Attic-Ionic, Phocian, Elean and Cretan. Lesbian, Ionic and Cretan show a sigmatic aorist subjunctive whose third person singular ends in $-\epsilon\iota$. An athematic subjunctive in $-\delta-$ occurs in Arcadian, Elean, Coan, Theran and Cretan. The West Greek dialects are divided over the formation of the infinitive in $-\epsilon\upsilon$ and $-\epsilon\nu$. Locrian, Elean, the Peloponnesian dialects except Argolic, and Rhodian go with Aeolic and Attic-Ionic in showing the former termination, while Phocian, Argolic, Coan, Theran and Cretan go with Arcado-Cyprian in the latter. A perfect infinitive in $-\epsilon\upsilon$, $-\eta\nu$ or $-\epsilon\nu$ occurs in Lesbian, Phocian and certain Doric dialects. Phocian shares with Aeolic the formation of the contracted verbs in $-\eta\omega$, $-\omega\omega$ instead of the short vowel, while Lesbian, Phocian, Elean, Rhodian and Cretan combine to show certain forms in $-\epsilon\omega$ from verbs in $-\alpha\omega$.

Many of these affinities are probably survivals from primitive Greek times which have dropped out or been changed in the dialects which do not show them, while others are due to borrowing from neighbouring dialects, such as Phocian from

Aeolic or Arcadian from the Peloponnesian Doric. The most striking is perhaps the treatment of the vowel before -*υ*f which binds together Eastern Ionic and Eastern Doric, these being also the dialects that show psilosis though with the addition of Elean. If, as seems likely, we are to regard these characteristics as due to influences¹ at work both upon Ionic and Doric, that is to say, in Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands alone, such influences must have arisen at a comparatively late period, after the establishment of the Doric settlements in the east. The strong influence of North-West Greek upon the Aeolic of Thessaly and Boeotia has already been noticed.

The final question that arises with regard to the dialects is how far at any given time they were mutually intelligible. The answer, so far as one can be given, must be that generally speaking they were not so far apart as to prevent the speakers of one group from understanding those of another without undue difficulty. The reader may help himself towards a right judgment of this question by reading aloud to himself the various examples of dialect that have been given in this chapter, being careful to place the pitch accent on the correct syllables. In the case of another language or dialect the accent or tone counts for much. This fact would make Lesbian in which the accent was thrown back beyond the place established by rule in the other dialects sound strange to the rest of the Greeks. Arcadian would be considered rustic and archaic but it would be understood perhaps more easily than a modern Londoner understands the dialect of Yorkshire or Edinburgh. The observations upon and caricatures of Doric speech made by Attic poets implies that the Doric dialects were quite well understood but considered rough and ridiculous. With regard to the accent the dialects differed little except in the case of Lesbian and in few cases was the pronunciation of a given sound different in all circumstances. An example was the retention in Boeotian of the original *u*-sound as opposed to the *ū* of Attic and Ionic. This would not cause trouble. The dropping of the rough breathing would

¹ We must not rule out the possibility of pre-Greek phonetic influence in these cases.

be too slight a change to affect intelligibility, forms such as $\delta\upsilon$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$ for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ would not cause difficulty, nor a difference such as that between $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tau\iota$ and $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota$. The order of words, the composition of the sentences, the main features, the mode of speech, were unaltered throughout the dialects. As far as our material goes, the most numerous cases of vocabulary peculiar to a single dialect occurred probably in Arcado-Cyprian. The dialect of Crete would have been difficult at first for an Athenian to understand. But there could have been nothing to prevent an Athenian or a Boeotian from recognising that a Cyprian or Rhodian was speaking the same language as himself, although in a peculiar way. As long as the various small states remained independent their dialects were guarded as an important feature of national self-expression, but when jealousies were finally swept away by the incorporation of the country in the Roman Empire there was no need for the dialects to remain, and they gave way before the Attic $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta^1$ now regarded as the language of educated people.

¹ The extent to which the dialects contributed to the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ cannot be exactly determined. P. Kretschmer (in his *Die Entstehung der Koiné*, 1900) considered that phonetically it was very great. Those acquainted with the New Testament will have recognised non-Attic forms such as $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\nu\omicron\acute{o}\varsigma$. The question is very well discussed in J. H. Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, pp. 32 ff.

Chapter VIII

HOMER AND THE EARLY LITERATURE

IN the preceding chapters we have examined the structure and principles of the Greek language as a whole as well as the dialects, of which we have records dating from the sixth or fifth till the third or second centuries B.C. In the chapters that are to come we shall follow the language chronologically beginning with the earliest known literature and watching the expansion, adaptation and alteration that time and circumstances have produced in it until the present day.

Our records do not show us an uncultured language slowly evolving a literature from crude beginnings, advancing by effort, assimilating the work of more civilised neighbouring nations. We emerge suddenly from the darkness of prehistoric times into a blaze of light to find that the earliest records of the Greek language that we possess consist of the two great Homeric epics, which stand in the first rank not only of Greek literature of every period but also of the known literature of the world. There must have been a long history and development behind the Homeric poems of which nothing is known. The poetry of Homer has its roots not so much in the barbarian north as in the age-old cultures of Asia Minor and the Aegæan. It comes in a line of succession which must take us back, if we could trace it, to the courts of Cnossos or of the Hittites. The metre is probably foreign, the treatment of the theme, in the case of the *Odyssey* even the theme itself, may be foreign, but that part with which we have to do, the language, is essentially Greek. The Homeric poems well illustrate the impact of the northern Greek invaders upon the civilisations of Asia Minor and Crete, and give us an insight into the versatility of mind that adapted an Indo-European

language to be the medium of epics such as these. The date of the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may be said on linguistic, archaeological and other evidence to be about the year 900 B.C. It cannot be supposed that the epics were unique, although their excellence may indeed have overshadowed all former poetry. They were born in a civilisation which we need have no doubt was used to epic. Its warriors were stirred and the courts of its kings enlivened by the recital by bards of the great deeds of a city or its dynasty. We may imagine that the Homeric poems were first composed with the practical object in view of giving inspiration to their hearers. There is no need to enter into the questions of literary criticism, for the language problem is affected little by them. It is enough to realise that the speculations of the nineteenth century as to the composite character of the poems have largely given place to the doctrine of unity of authorship based on the obvious artistic unity of both epics. No one denies of course that there are in our present text certain accretions added by the rhapsodists of later centuries. But whether there were originally one or a hundred poets the language of the epics is essentially the same throughout.

The question of what was Homer's dialect has been given three answers. The ancients regarded it as Ionic of an ancient type, and this broadly may be said to be the opinion of D. B. Monro, expressed in his *Homeric Grammar*. For some twenty years the theory of A. Fick¹ held sway in Germany and to a less extent in this country. This was that the core of the poems was composed in Aeolic, which was later translated where the metre would allow into Ionic. This theory ignores the fact that there are many un-Ionic forms standing in the text which would not have been prevented by the metre from being transposed into Ionic. A further consideration against this theory is that although Homer was read and well known throughout all the cities of Greece, none attempted to trans-

¹ See *Die homerische Odyssee in ihrer ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt*, 1883.

pose the dialect of the text as it now is into its own. There was no need. The dialects were mutually intelligible, and to do so would have been an artificial and unnecessary process. The third answer is that the dialect of Homer was the spoken dialect of his home and time, come down to us in the text that we possess generally speaking unaltered, although room must be allowed for recensions and editions which altered at least the spelling in cases easy to detect. An example of this is the alteration of the Ionic conjunction $\xi\sigma$ to the Attic $\epsilon\omega$, the former being obviously original as the metre necessitates. Atticisms also crept in, as is only natural. The dialect as it appears in the text is a mixture of Ionic and Aeolic, the former largely preponderating.

One of the states that claimed to be the birthplace of Homer was Chios,¹ and in this island we find in Homeric times an Ionic dialect established with an underlying stratum of Aeolic. Four or five centuries earlier the Aeolic would not have been so nearly eliminated, and the proportion between the two may well have been that which appears in the Homeric poems. It is easier to believe that the Homeric dialect was a living dialect than an artificial mixture never spoken and produced by meddling with the original text or sounds. It must of course be remembered that the epics are literature and poetry. They are not written in conversational style. Their very simplicity gives them a loftiness that would be out of place in everyday speech. They contain certain stock epithets or expressions, such as $\sigma\iota\nu\omicron\pi\alpha \pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\text{-}\beta\omicron\iota\omicron \theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$, intended to produce a certain artistic flavour, which in any other poem might appear unpleasantly artificial. In Homer they are used with perfect balance and moderation, but they serve to remind us that the language of the poems is that of literature and not of everyday speech. But this is very far from being an artificial¹ dialect whose sounds and forms,

¹ See the statements of Mr T. W. Allen in his *Homer, the Origins and the Transmission*, pp. 103 ff., and of Dr P. Giles in a paper 'Was Homer a Chian?' read before the Camb. Philol. Soc. and reported in the *Camb. Univ. Reporter* for 9 March 1915.

as well as vocabulary and expression, differ from the spoken language. The language of the fifth-century dramatists is not the language of everyday speech, but it is Attic as much as was the latter. And so with Homer. It is true that his language was imitated in the centuries to come by those who did not use it as a living tongue, but we shall not be far wrong in regarding it as in the hands of the poet of the epics a living language against whose everyday use in the island of Chios earlier than the ninth century we know no valid reason.

Here is an extract from the *Iliad* containing one of the finest similes of the whole poem:

ὥς τῷ γε προβοῶντε μάχην ὤτρυνον Ἀχαιῶν.
τῶν δ' ὥς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμναί
ἥματι χειμερίῳ, ὅτε τ' ὠρετο μητίετα Ζεὺς
νιφέμεν, ἀνθρώποισι πιφραυσκόμενος τὰ δὲ κῆλα·
κοιμήσας δ' ἀνέμους χέει ἔμπεδον, ὄφρα καλύψῃ
ὕψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς καὶ πρῶνας ἀκροῦς
καὶ πεδιά λωτεῦντα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πτόνα ἔργα,
καὶ τ' ἐφ' ὁλὸς πολιῆς κέχυται λιμέσιν τε καὶ ἀκταῖς,
κύμα δέ μιν προσπλάζον ἐρύκεται ἄλλα τε πάντα
εἵλνται καθύπερθ', ὅτ' ἐπιβρίση Διὸς δμβρος.
ὥς τῶν ἀμφοτέρωσσε λίθοι πωτῶντο θαμναί,
αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς Τρώας αἱ δ' ἐκ Τρώων ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς,
βαλλομένων· τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ὑπερ πάντων δοῦπος ὀρώρει.²

xii. 277-89.

¹ Mr C. M. Bowra in his *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, chap. vii, 'Language' (pp. 129-55), has put an excellent case in favour of artificiality. I am however inclined to think that his reasoning against Homer's language being based upon a local dialect is not conclusive.

² 'Thus the twain raising their voices in front stirred the Achaeans to battle. And as the flakes of snow fall thick on a winter's day, when Zeus the counsellor hath raised a snowstorm, revealing to men these his arrows; and lulling the winds he pours forth snow continually, till he has covered the peaks of the high mountains, the loftiest headlands, the grassy plains and the rich tillage of men. Yea, it is poured upon the harbours and shores of the grey sea. The swelling wave keeps back the snow while all else is wrapped in snow above, when the storm of Zeus comes heavily on. Even so from both sides did stones fly thick, some against the Trojans and others hurled by the Trojans against the Achaeans. And the noise arose above all the wall.'

The above passage is typical. It may be said to be characterised by simplicity, freedom, delicacy and vividness. There is no padding. The description of the snow-storm might have passed the lips of any peasant who had experienced it, and yet it is the highest art. No words could be simpler than ἥματι χειμερίῳ. And nothing can exceed the vividness with which the picture of the storm is brought before the mind of the reader. There is no vividness equal to the vividness of Homer in the whole of the rest of Greek literature. It is useless to speculate whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could have been written in Latin or any other language, but we may safely conclude that to some extent they are what they are because the language of the poet who conceived them happened to be Greek.

The Ionic dialect of the passage quoted is clearly visible. Uncontracted forms such as -βοῶντε, χέει or ὀρέων, the η of μάχην or ἥματι, the diphthong of λωτεῦντα all make the dialect unmistakable. The vocabulary is entirely Greek and almost entirely Indo-European in origin. The participle λωτεῦντα is from a verb formed from the noun λῶτος, probably borrowed from Semitic. The word λίθος is of unknown origin. Yet both are firmly entrenched in the Greek language and Homer must have found them so. The Achæan bards for perhaps five hundred years before Homer had been adapting and moulding the Greek language to the metres of the Aegæan. The Homeric poems form the crown of centuries of song. There can be no doubt that the Homeric hexameter was derived from Asia Minor or Crete. Probably the only metre common to all Indo-European peoples was the simple iambic, consisting of five or six disyllabic feet to the line with stress upon the second syllable of each foot. The elaborate metres such as the hexameter were borrowed from peoples with older civilisations. In the Homeric poems we find it perfectly assimilated. No more complete harmony could exist than between the language and the metre of Homer.

The following passage from the *Iliad* will further illustrate these points:

Τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ·
 'ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, Πηλῆος υἱέ, μέγα φέρτατ' Ἀχαιῶν,
 μὴ νεμέσῃ· τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβήκεν Ἀχαιοῦς.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι πάρος ἦσαν ἄριστοι,
 ἐν νηυσὶν κέαται βεβλημένοι οὐτάμενοί τε.
 βέβληται μὲν ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης,
 οὐτάσται δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἦδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
 βέβληται δὲ καὶ Εὐρύπυλος κατὰ μηρὸν διστῶ.
 τοὺς μὲν τ' ἱητροὶ πολυφάρμακοι ἀμφιπέτονται,
 ἔλκε' ἀκειόμενοι· σὺ δ' ἀμὴχανος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ.
 μὴ ἐμέ γ' οὖν οὗτός γε λάβει χόλος, δν σὺ φυλάσσεις,
 ἀναρέτη· τί σευ ἄλλος ὀνήσεται ὀψιγόνος περ,
 αἶ κε μὴ Ἀργείοισιν ἑκίκα λοιγὸν ἀμύνης;
 νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σὸί γε πατήρ ἦν ἱππότης Πηλεΐς,
 οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα
 πέτραι τ' ἤλιβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόσος ἐστὶν ἀπηγής.
 εἰ δέ τίνα φρεσὶ σῆσι θεοπροπίην ἄλσεινεις
 καὶ τινὰ τοι πὰρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πτόνια μήτηρ,
 ἄλλ' ἐμέ περ πρόξω χ', αἶμα δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ὄπασσον
 Μυρμιδόνων, ἦν πού τι φῶς Δαναοῖσι γένωμαι.
 δὸς δέ μοι ὥμοισιν τὰ σά τεύχεα θωρηχθῆναι,
 αἶ κ' ἐμέ σοι ἴσκοντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο
 Τρῶες, ἀναπνεύσωσι δ' Ἀρήιοι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν
 τειρόμενοι· ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευστις πολέμοιο.
 βεῖα δέ κ' ἀκμήτες κεκμηότας ἀνδρας ἀυτῇ
 ὥσαμεν προτὶ ἄστυ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων'.¹

XVI. 20-45.

¹ 'Then deeply groaning didst thou address him, knightly Patroclus, saying: "Achilles, son of Peleus, mightiest of the Achaeans, be not angry; for such is the grief that has overtaken the Achaeans. For they all, even all that were their bravest, lie in their ships smitten and wounded. The son of Tydeus, the mighty Diomedes, is smitten, Odysseus the renowned spearman is wounded and also Agamemnon, and Eurypylus is smitten in the thigh with an arrow. They are being tended by the physicians with their many drugs who heal their sores. As for thee, thou art hard to deal with, Achilles. Let no such wrath as this thou cherishest take hold ever of me, brave to the hurting of others. What profit shalt thou bring to others later born, if thou defend not the Argives from dread destruction? Hard-hearted one, thy father then was not the knightly Peleus, nor was Thetis thy mother; nay, the grey sea bare thee and the precipitous rocks, because thy spirit is so cruel. If in thy heart thou fearest some oracle and thy lady mother hath given thee some message from Zeus, yet send me at least quickly forth, cause the rest of the people of the Myrmidons to follow me, if perchance I may be a light to the Danaans. Give me thine armour to gird about my shoulders, if perchance the Trojans taking me for thee may abstain from the fight, and the warlike sons of

In this passage the forms λαόν and κλισιάων are non-Ionic and may be attributed to an earlier Aeolic stratum in the dialect in which the poem was composed. The form οὖν is probably due to Attic transcribers. The freedom of construction as opposed to the more restricted Attic will be noticed.

In order to compare the language of the *Odyssey* we will transcribe a passage immediately. Here is the account of Odysseus' putting out the Cyclops' eye:

Ἥ καὶ ἀνακλινθεὶς πέσεν ὕπτιος, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
κεῖτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχύν αὐχένα, καὶ δέ μιν ὕπνος
ῥρει πανδαμάτωρ· φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσσυτο οἶνος
ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμεοι· ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἶνοβαρεῖων.
καὶ τότε ἔγὼ τὸν μοχλὸν ὑπὸ σποδοῦ ῥήλασα πολλῆς,
εἰὼς θερμαίνοιτο· ἔπεισσι τε πάντας ἑταίρους
θάρσυνον, μή τις μοι ὑποδδείσας ἀναδύη.
ὅλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλαΐνος ἐν πυρὶ μέλλεν
ἄψεσθαι, χλωρός περ ἑὼν, διεφάνετο δ' αἰνῶς,
καὶ τότε ἔγὼν ἄσπον φέρον ἐκ πυρός, ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
ἴσταντ'· αὐτὰρ θάρσος ἐνέπνευσεν μέγα δαίμων.
οἱ μὲν μοχλὸν ἐλόντες ἐλαΐνον, ὅξυν ἐπ' ἄκρῳ,
ὀφθαλμῷ ἐνέρεισαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἄεργος
δίνεον, ὥς ὅτε τις τρυπῶ δόρυ νήιον ἀνὴρ
τρυπάνῳ, οἱ δέ τ' ἔνερθεν ὑποσσεύουσιν ἱμάντι
ἀψάμενοι ἑκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἐμμενὲς αἶε·
ὥς τοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ πυριτήκεα μοχλὸν ἐλόντες
δινέομεν, τὸν δ' αἶμα περίρρεε θερμόν ἐόντα,
πάντα δὲ οἱ βλέφαρ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ὀφρύας εὔσεν αὐτμῇ
γλήνῃς καπομένης· σφαραγεῦντο δὲ οἱ πυρὶ ῥίζαι.
ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἤε σκέπαρνον
εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἰάχοντα
φαρμάσσων· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὲ σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν·
ὥς τοῦ σίξ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαίνῳ περὶ μοχλῷ.
σμερδαλέον δὲ μέγ' ὦμωξεν, περὶ δ' ἴαχε πέτρῃ,
ἡμεῖς δὲ δέισαντες ἀπεσσύμεθ'· αὐτὰρ ὁ μοχλὸν
ἐξέρυσ' ὀφθαλμοῖο πεφυρμένον αἵματι πολλῷ.¹

IX. 371-97.

the Achaeans be refreshed after their weariness. Short is refreshment in time of war. We who are fresh could easily thrust men wearied with battle towards the city away from the ships and huts".

¹ 'Then verily his head fell back and he sprawled upon his back, and there he lay stretching his thick neck sideways, and sleep that tameth all things came down upon him. Wine and gobbets of human flesh gushed from his mouth, and he belched, being filled with wine. Then it was

It will be seen that it would be hypercritical to attempt to draw linguistic distinctions between the two epics. The vocabulary differs no more than is necessitated by the difference of theme. In the passage just quoted the absence of the augment is perhaps more general than in the passages from the *Iliad*, but the quotations are negligible fractions of the whole in either case. The same freedom is there, especially the same vividness. The scene in the Cyclops' cave passes before the eyes in strong outline and clearness of detail. Certain differences of background give reason for supposing that the *Odyssey* was composed by a different author from the *Iliad*. If so, there is nothing to choose between the genius of either.

The hexameter is a metre of quantity, not of accent. The line is composed of six feet made up of a long syllable followed either by a second long syllable or by two short ones. The long syllables are those whose vowel is either long naturally (η or ω for example) or is followed by two or more consonants. Exceptions are sometimes made in the case of a stop followed by a liquid, when the preceding syllable is sometimes short. In addition we find a naturally short syllable sometimes lengthened when followed by a liquid, a nasal, σ or δ. Similarly we find an assimilation of the consonant in the case of compounds, such as ἀπορρίπτω, ἄρρηκτος, ἐπισσεύω, ἐύσελμος, and after the augment. The assimilated consonant that I drove the stake beneath the thick ashes till it should grow hot, and encouraged all my comrades, lest any in fear might fail me. Then when the olive-wood stake was about to catch fire, and shone terribly although it was yet green, I drew it near to him out of the fire, and my comrades stood around; then some power inspired us with great courage. They took the olive-wood stake, sharp at the tip, and thrust it in his eye, while I raised above it twirled it round, as when a man pierces a ship's beam with an auger, and his fellows below, having bound it with a thong, twist it from either end and it runs unceasing ever. Even so we took the fiery-pointed stake and whirled it in his eye, and the warm blood flowed out around it. The heat singed his eyelid and eyebrow all around, while the eyeball burned, and its roots sputtered with the fire. As when a smith dips a large axe or adze in cold water hardening it, and it sizzles loudly—for thus he strengthens the iron—even so his eye hissed around the olive-wood stake. He uttered a terrible loud cry and the rock re-echoed around, and we withdrew in fear. Then he drew the stake from his eye thickly stained with blood.¹

was often the digamma. Though the Eastern Ionic dialect was the first to lose the digamma, there is reason to suppose that in the ninth century it was still living even there. Sometimes it was *s* as in forms such as $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-(}s\text{)}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{ (}s\text{)}\rho\acute{o}\sigma\upsilon\nu$. This fact points to one of two conclusions. Possibly the original consonant or a weak or mutilated form of it was still pronounced when the poems were composed. Thus the double (i.e. long) ρ may have been spoken and heard in the interior of words in forms such as $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-(}\rho\text{)}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{ (}\rho\text{)}\rho\acute{o}\sigma\upsilon\nu$. It is more difficult to suppose that the *s* was pronounced at the beginning of stems in $\rho\acute{o}\sigma\upsilon$, $\nu\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$, and the like. In the case of original *sr*, which became *r*, it is probable that an intermediate stage was *rr*, and possible also that original *sm*, *sn*¹ passed through *mm*, *nn* to *m*, *n*. We may quite reasonably suppose that these combinations were in the intermediate stage at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems.

There is however a second explanation. This is that except in the case of the digamma the original combinations had already become simplified by Homer's time, but that the lengthening of the consonant was an established habit dating from the time, which at the longest cannot have been more than five hundred years past, when the original consonants were unchanged or only partially deteriorated. If this explanation be preferred, it means that the Homeric poems were the culmination of a long epic tradition, in which habit had fixed the quantity of certain syllables. That this was so we have already seen it to be quite natural to suppose. We cannot tell which of the alternative explanations is correct until we find more evidence in the form of earlier Greek inscriptions, or transcriptions of early Greek forms in the languages of Asia Minor or elsewhere. At any rate in the Homeric poems we pick up the Greek language at a point when certain changes from forms presumably original Indo-European to forms which differentiated the Greek language as such had only recently taken place.

Another curious phenomenon of the metre is the metathesis of quantities or shortening of a long vowel or diphthong before

¹ Examples are $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\text{-}\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (cf. Eng. *smile*), $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\text{-}\nu\eta\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. Eng. *snow*).

hiatus, that is to say, when at the end of a word it is immediately followed by the initial vowel of a second word. Examples in the passage from the *Odyssey* quoted above are τρῦπᾶνϝ ὀϊ, ᾤς τοῦ ἔν. The simplest explanation of this shortening is that it is an Ionic phenomenon, connected with phonetic change that produced véως from vḥōs or vāōs, ἔως from ḥōs. Conceivably the shortening arose first in connection with the diphthongs, the second element in which might have become a semi-vowel (*i* or *u*, English *y* or *w*), forming a glide connecting the two vowels, being afterwards, quite naturally, extended to the long vowels. We have to remember that the metre was of foreign origin—one can imagine it as the chanted accompaniment to dances in the worship of Adonis or Cybele. We do not know how the rules of quantity arose, to what extent they were borrowed with the metre, or to what extent they were developed by the pre-Homeric Greek bards. In any case we should not be surprised at the irregularities that we find, comparatively few as they are, for without them it would have been impossible to find scope for the freedom of expression essential for the production of such a perfect blend of metre, language and thought.

Peculiarities of Homeric grammar as compared with the Attic writers of a later age have been generally touched on in preceding chapters. Its principles consist in the main of freedom of usage, chiefly of the article and the moods, inherited from Indo-European times or developed naturally in early Greece. These became modified by the restrictions of Attic style which asserted a certain correctness of expression. So far as we know, some of Homer's freedom may have remained in everyday speech.

The Homeric poems form one of the foundation-stones of all subsequent Greek literature. All later epic was composed in imitation of Homer's style and dialect, and thus the artificial epic dialect came into being and was not departed from even as late as the Alexandrines. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius for example is written in this artificial style. Moreover the thought and poetry of Homer became embedded in

the mind of Greece. To subsequent centuries all origins lay in Homer, and literature was almost a conscious building upon the foundations laid by him. Epic alone followed him slavishly, but he is present as a background behind all lyric and tragedy, behind history and, less appreciably, behind philosophy, and indirectly behind comedy too.

The silence of the centuries that lay between Homer and Greece of the classical age is broken only by a single voice, that of the author, known to the Greeks as Hesiod the Boeotian farmer, of the two poems of *The Works and Days* and the *Theogony*, both written in hexameters and in the epic style. These poems, especially *The Works and Days*, are more didactic than romantic and may be said to be in the line of ancestry of the philosophical poems of the earlier Greek thinkers. Their author lived at Ascra in Boeotia, his family deriving from Aeolis, but his dialect is the artificial epic in imitation of Homer, and is in appearance perhaps more nearly Ionic than that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The date of the poems is probably the eighth century B.C. Here is an extract from that section of *The Works and Days* that deals with the myth of successive human races:

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
αὐτίς ἔτ' ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, δικαιότερον καὶ ἀρειον,
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἱ καλέονται
ἡμίθεοι, προτέρῃ γενεῇ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνῇ
τοὺς μὲν ὕφ' ἐπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηλίδι γαίῃ,
ᾧλεσε μαρναμένους μῆλων ἔνεκ' Οἰδιπόδῃ,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαΐμα θαλάσσης
ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἡλυκόμοιο.
ἐνθ' ἦτοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφοκάλυψε,
τοῖς δὲ δῖχ' ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ ἦθε' ὀπάσσεας
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε παττὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης.
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναῖουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' ὤκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
ὄλβιοι ἦρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
τρίς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.¹

The Works and Days, 156-73.

¹ 'And when this race lay hidden beneath the earth, Zeus, son of Cronus, made yet a fourth upon the fertile earth, more righteous and

The language is in a transitional state between Homer and Herodotus, although, as we have seen, it is improbable that it represents any living spoken dialect. The genitives in -οιο and -αο and the dative plurals in -εσσι remain, but the digamma has disappeared, apparent hiatus due to the dropping of digamma being infrequent in the poems. Certain phrases giving an intentionally artificial effect are common. Examples in the passage quoted are φύλοπις αἰνή, λαῖμα θαλάσσης, ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. The style resembles Attic more closely than Homer does. The poems were extremely popular throughout Greece in subsequent centuries, their influence upon Greek literature and thought being nearly as great as that of Homer.

In the seventh century after another long silence there begins the literature of which we have records in a continuous stream henceforward. The dignity of the epic and its hexameter gives place to lighter though no less beautiful poetry, and we find the language equally suited to be its medium of expression. A modification of the hexameter poem is found in the elegiac metre, consisting of alternate hexameters and pentameters and used in didactic poetry, reflecting to some extent the spirit of Hesiod. The history of this metre is not known. It may have been developed from the continuous hexameter by the Greeks themselves, or the pentameter may also have been taken over from the same people as gave the Greeks the hexameter. It is less probable that the couplet was borrowed already formed. Archilochus of Paros, who flourished about 650, employs the elegiac metre with effect:

brave, a race divine of heroes, who are known as demi-gods, the next generation before our own throughout the boundless earth. These were destroyed by baneful war and fierce battle, some beneath the seven gates of Thebes, the land of Cadmus, fighting for the flocks of the children of Oedipus, others again after they were led in ships across the swelling ocean's wave to Troy because of fair-tressed Helen. Thus were some brought to darkness by the end that is death, but over others reigned Zeus son of Cronus the father to the bounds of the earth, bestowing on them life and ways far from men. And these dwell with care-free heart in the isles of the blest by the deep-eddying Ocean's side, blessed heroes, for whom the fertile tilth beareth luscious fruit that blossoms thrice a year¹.

Οὐ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θαμναί
 σφενδόναι, εὖτ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
 ἐν πεδίῳ· ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον·
 ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δαίμονες εἰσι μάχης,
 δεσπότης Εὐβοίης Δουρικλυτοί.¹

Frag. 3 (J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 11).

This language is distinctly Homeric, but it is deliberate imitation. The artificiality of the dialect did not however prevent it from being used to express living poetry, of which it was the recognised medium, but the growth and employment of this epic dialect must have been an important factor in the increasing divorce between the language of literature and that of everyday speech. In addition to elegiacs we find iambic metres also in use by this period. The iambic foot consists simply of two syllables of which the second is stressed and the first usually short in quantity. This metre is common to most Indo-European languages and is not elaborate as is the hexameter or pentameter. Its presence need cause no surprise, for wherever there is song the iambus is present, and there must have been continuous song among the Greeks from the earliest days of their migrations. The iambic is a simple fundamental metre which we should not expect to be entirely ousted by the introduction of the more elaborate foreign metres. Later in the hands of the Attic tragedians it became the vehicle of some of the sublimest poetry of the world. The following are three charming iambic lines from Archilochus:

ἔχουσα θαλλὸν μυρσίνης ἐτέρπετο
 ῥοδῆς τε καλὸν ἄνθος, ἣ δὲ οἱ κόμη
 ὤμους κατεσκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα.²

Frag. 29 (*ibid.*).

With the second half of the seventh century came an outburst of lyric poetry which shows the Greek language in a yet further adaptation to a different literary need. These fifty years saw the activity of Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho,

¹ 'The bow shall not be so oft stretched nor the sling-stones fly so thick, when Ares gathereth the fight in the plain. But swords will be at work causing many groans. For this is the sort of warfare wherein the lords of Euboea, renowned with the spear, are skilled.'

² 'She took her delight with myrtle bloom in her hand, and the fair blossom of the rose-tree, while her hair covered her shoulders and back.'

and Alcaeus. A variety of metres was employed by these poets, and in each the Greek language is found to be equally happy. As in the case of the hexameter these metres are probably of foreign origin. The following will illustrate the language in the hands of the lyric poets:

ἦ οὐχ ὀρήσ; ὁ μὲν κέλης
 Ἑνετικός· ἀ δὲ χαίτα
 τῶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιδῶς
 Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ
 χρυσὸς ὥς ἀκήρατος·
 τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον
 διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;
 Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὐτα.
 ἀ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶν τὸ φείδος
 ἵππος Εἰβηνῶς Κολαῖστος δραμεῖται.
 ταὶ πελειάδες γὰρ ἄμιν
 Ὀρθία φάρος φεροῖσσι
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον
 ἄστρον ἀφειρομέναι μάχονται.¹

Alcman, 1. 1, 50-63 (J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, 1).

Ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν
 ἄψ ἀπυκρύπτοισι φάννον εἶδος,
 ὀπίπτοτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπη
 γὰν [ἐπὶ παῖσαν]
 ἀργυρέα.²

Sappho, 3 (*ibid.*).

Τέγγε πλεῦμονας οἶνω· τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται,
 ἀ δ' ὥρα χαλέπα, πάντα δὲ δίψαισ' ὑπὲρ καύματος.
 ἄχη δ' ἐκ πετάλων φάδεα τέττιξ [ἐπιδενδρίων].
 ἄνθη δὲ σκόλυμος· νῦν δὲ γυναῖκες μιαιώταται,
 λέπτοι δ' ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ καὶ κεφάλαν καὶ γόνα Σείριος
 ἄζει.³

Alcaeus, 161 (*ibid.*).

¹ 'Seest thou not? The swift steed is Venetic; and the hair of my cousin Hagesichora gleams fresh as pure gold. How can I speak clearly of her silver-white brow? Such is Hagesichora. And she that runneth next after Agido in beauty is as a Scythian steed competing with an Eibenian. For as we bear her robe for Orthia through the heavenly night like bright Sirius himself the Doves rise and strive for us.'

² 'The stars around the lovely moon hide their shining beauty away, when in her full strength she shineth with silver light over all the earth.'

³ 'Steep thy throat in wine. The star comes round, and the season is hard to bear, and all is athirst by reason of the heat. The sweet-voiced

The dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus is, as we have already seen, Lesbian. That of Alcman is a curious mixture. It is fundamentally Doric, the dialect of Sparta where he lived and wrote, but it contains Aeolisms. So far as ease and freedom of expression are concerned these poets are in the Homeric tradition. They are more inclined than Homer, who as a rule employed a succession of simply-phrased principal sentences, to the use of the subordinate clause. The Lesbian poets speak in a language not far divorced from common speech, while Alcman's dialect is more artificial. But they share with Homer and with their successors of a later age a certain undefined Greekness, which binds the whole of Greek literature together. The form of the sentence, the natural word-order, and the perfect balance are the same throughout. Behind Homer and behind the language of the lyricists there shines the light of a sort of eternal morning, an Arcady created by them for us which lives in their language to-day as freshly as when they wrote on the shores of the Aegaeon.

The presence of the digamma in the language of Alcman and the Aeolic poets is due to the dialect in which they write. Ionic had lost it by this time. The double consonant, lengthening the preceding syllable, that we have seen to occur in Homer in certain cases where there had originally been a combination of consonants, one of which disappears in Greek, has now in every case become single. The vocabulary peculiar to Homer has largely given place to that with which we are familiar in the Attic poets, though the fragmentary character of our records of the literature of the seventh and sixth centuries allows us only an incomplete knowledge of the writers' vocabulary. Moreover allowance must be made for the fact that the subject matter is different from that of epic.

The sixth century is still the age of the lyric and elegiac poet. At its opening we find Solon, of whose work considerable chirrups from the leaves of the tree-top. And the artichoke blossoms. Now are women wickedest, and men are thin since the Dog-star parches them head and knee.'

able fragments remain. He writes in the Attic dialect, but in his elegiacs employs epic forms and on occasions follows the Homeric poems in rules of quantity. Thus he shortens a diphthong before the initial vowel of the following word, as in

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτὰ μοι εὐχομένω.

13 (1 and 2) (J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 1).

Homeric influence is clearly seen in the following couplet:

Παῖς μὲν ἀνηβὸς ἔων ἔτι νήπιος ἔρκος ὀδόντων
φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἔπτ᾽ ἔτεσιν. 27 (1 and 2) (*ibid.*).

The use of the Ionic form ἔων is purely artificial and in imitation of Homer, while the phrase ἔρκος ὀδόντων, even in Homer a literary artifice, has become almost stilted as used by an elegiac writer of the sixth century. In Homer it carries life, in Solon, so far as one can judge, it destroys. When Solon writes in a trochaic metre Ionicisms appear, such as οὐδὲν αἰδεῖσθαι, the particle *ken* or the form *μοῦνον*. On the other hand when writing in iambics Solon's language differs in no essential respect from that of the fifth-century Attic poets. The rules that govern his metre as to quantity and caesura are the same as theirs. The following seven lines will illustrate this fact:

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκα ξυνήγαγον,
δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἑπαυσάμην;
συμμαρτυροῖη ταῦτ' ἄν ἐν δίκῃ χρόνου
μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
ἄριστα, Γῇ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε
δρους ἀνείλον πολλοῦ καὶ πεπηγότας,
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα νῦν ἑλευθέρα.¹

Frag. 36 (1-7) (*ibid.*).

The optative plural form *ποιοίαιτο* occurs in Solon's iambics, this being apparently the only instance of the form in his extant works.

The language of Ibycus of Rhégium, a lyric writer who

¹ 'For myself, why did I cease before winning that for which I gathered the people? Dark Earth, mighty mother of the Olympian deities, shall bear me best witness in the court of time that they were best, Earth whose landmarks I many times uprooted when they had been fixed, before a slave but now free.'

214 HOMER AND EARLY LITERATURE

employed various metres, and flourished about 560, is interesting as showing the artificial epic imposed upon an underlying stratum of Doric. The latter comes out in the rather charming lines:

μύρτα τε καὶ ἴα καὶ ἑλίχρυσος
μᾶλά τε καὶ βόδα καὶ τέρεϊνα δάφνα.

Frag. 7 (J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, II).

while the mixture is well seen in the following:

ὥστε φερέζυγος ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος ποτὶ γῆραι
ἀέκων σὺν ὄχεσφι θοοῖς ἔς ἀμίλλαν ἔβα. Frag. 2 (*ibid.*).

The Homeric dative plural in -φι will be noticed as well as the Doric forms. The Ionic of Hipponax, who wrote in the middle of the century, closely resembles that of Herodotus, forms such as *μεν* and *κω* occurring. The verbs in -*εω* are uncontracted and the *η* is retained after a vowel in nouns of the first declension. In Hipponax' hexameters there is imitation of Homer in phrases such as *παρὰ θῖν' ἄλδς ἄτρυγέτοιο*. Hipponax is generally recognised as the first to introduce the spondee in the sixth foot of an iambic line, an experiment more suited to satiric or comic poetry than to tragic or lyric. One of the last elegiac poets of this earlier age of whom we have any record was Theognis of Megara, who committed to verse his political sentiments. Naturally the elegiac metre was more suited to such a subject than the various metres employed by the lyric poets, and its disappearance in the latter half of the sixth century is accounted for by the fact that it gave way to prose. The style of Theognis was in direct imitation of Homer and Hesiod, which gave it an air of unreality, which the following extract will illustrate:

Σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πάσαν ἀειρόμενος
ρήϊδίως· θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση
ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,
καὶ σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες
εὐκόσμως ἔρατοὶ καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα
ἄσσονται· καὶ ὅταν δυοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
βῆς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Αἴδαο δόμους,

HOMER AND EARLY LITERATURE 215

οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
 ἀφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,
 Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφόμενος ἦδ' ἀνὰ νήσους,
 ἰχθυόοντα περὶ πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,
 οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει
 ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰσσηφάνων
 παῖσιν ὅσοισι μέμηλε, καὶ ἐσσομένοιςιν αἰοιδῇ
 ἔσση ὁμῶς, ἔφρ' ἢ γῆ τε καὶ ἥλιος.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς.

(237-54) (J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 1).

This is not the language of prose nor the vocabulary of Homer. It is curiously artificial, and illustrates well the need for the development of a prose literature to deal with political and other practical subjects.

The need for literary prose had been emphasised further by the rise of the first school of Greek philosophers or speculators upon the origin and nature of the physical universe, which took place in Ionia at the beginning of the sixth century. It is true that we have no extant writings of the first three pioneers, Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes, their teaching being known to us by quotations from Aristotle and other later philosophers. Their importance for the development of the language must however have been very great, for they introduced a new terminology, which was to take root in the language and to become in later periods one of its strongest characteristics. Such terms are ἀρχή in the sense of 'first cause', or

¹ 'I have given thee wings to fly with ease aloft the boundless sea and all the land. No meal or feast but thou'lt be there, couched 'twixt the lips of many a guest, and lovely youths shall sing thee clear and well in orderly wise to the clear-voiced flute. And when thou comest to go down to the lamentable house of Hades in the depths of the gloomy earth, never, albeit thou art dead, shalt thou lose thy fame, but men will think of thee as one of immortal name, Cyrrus, who rangeth the land of Greece and the isles thereof. Crossing the fishy unharvestable deep not upon horseback mounted but sped of the glorious gifts of the violet-crowned Muses unto all that care to receive thee; and living as they thou shalt be a song unto posterity so long as Earth and Sun abide. Yet as for me, thou hast no respect for me, great or small, but deceivest me with words as if I were a little child.'

(J. M. Edmonds' translation).

216 HOMER AND EARLY LITERATURE

Anaximander's τὸ ἄπειρον 'the indefinite', which he regarded as the stuff of the universe. Abstract terms such as αἱ ἐναντιότητες were used by them for the first time prominently, if not coined by them. The usage of adjectives such as θερμόν, ψυχρόν, ξηρόν, ὑγρόν was extended by them and a semi-abstract sense given to these words, which in their mouths expressed not only the normal concrete sensations but the elements supposed by them to be the ultimate realities of the universe. Heraclitus, their successor, who lived and taught at the close of the sixth century, fragments of whose work remain, employs the word λόγος in a sense familiar to later Greek thought and echoed in the New Testament.

Before the time of Heraclitus a school of philosophy had established itself at Elea in Magna Graecia founded by Xenophanes, who still wrote in hexameters. Here are some fragments of his work:

Πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρός θ' Ἡσιόδός τε,
 ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν,
 κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν,
 εἰς θεὸς ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,
 οὔτε δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοῖος οὔτε νόημα.
 οὔλος ὄρᾳ, οὔλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὔλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει . . .
 ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει . . .
 αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μέμνει κινεούμενον οὐδέν,
 οὔδὲ μετέρχεσθαι μιν ἐπιτρέπεται ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ . . .¹

Frgs. 11, 23-26 (J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 1).

The hexameter was not altogether unfitted to be the vehicle of Xenophanes' teaching, for his thought, and not his language only, is cast in a poetical mould. He was the author of various pieces of elegiac didactic verse, not unlike in style to the work of Theognis, so that the need for prose as a vehicle of expression is not so apparent in his case. It will

¹ 'Homer and Hesiod ascribed to the gods all things that with men are a cause of reproach and blame, theft, adultery and mutual deceit. There is one god most mighty among gods and men, unlike to mortals in form or mind. The whole of him sees, the whole of him thinks, the whole of him hears . . . but far from toil he agitates all things by the wit of his mind . . . ever in the same place he abides moving not, nor does it beseech him to pass in any way to any other place. . . .'

be generally agreed however that the following two couplets could have been better expressed in prose:

ἦδη δ' ἐπτά τ' ἔασι καὶ ἐξήκοντ' ἑνιαυτοὶ
βληστρίζοντες ἔμην φροντίδ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα γῆν.
ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότε ἦσαν ἑξήκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς,
εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.¹ Frag. 7 (*ibid.*).

The philosophers continued to write in hexameter verse until the middle of the fifth century, when we find Empedocles the pluralist still doing so, but prose had arisen meanwhile, one of the earliest writers to employ it being Hecataeus of Miletus, the historian, who flourished about the year 520.

Meanwhile the lyric tradition continued till about the middle of the fifth century when it gave place to drama into which it was to a large extent incorporated. The chief names among the last of the lyric poets are Anacreon of Teos (fl. 530), Simonides (fl. 510), Telesilla (fl. 510), Corinna and Timocreon (fl. 500), Pindar (fl. 490), Bacchylides (fl. 470) and Praxilla (fl. 450). The style of Anacreon is more reminiscent of Homer than that of the earlier lyricists, and we may take it that he was less natural and free, and allowed himself a considerable amount of deliberate imitation. The following extract may serve to illustrate this:

ὦ νᾶξ, ᾧ δαμάλῃς Ἔρως
καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες
πορφυρῇ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ
συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρεφάει δ'
ὕψηλῶν κορυφᾶς ὄρεων,
γουνούμαι σε· σὺ δ' εὐμενῆς
ἔλθ' ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης δ'
εὐχολῆς ἐπακούειν.
Κλευβούλῳ δ' ἀγαθὸς γενεῷ
σύμβουλος· τὸν ἐμὸν δ' ἔρωτ',
ὦ Δεύνυσε, δέχεσθαι.²

Frag. 2 (J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, π).

¹ 'Seven and sixty years have now been tossing my anxious mind up and down Greece. To these must be added twenty-five since my birth, if I know how to speak truth about this.'

² 'Great king, with whom the conqueror Love, the dark-eyed Nymphs and rosy Aphrodite play, thou who wanderest over the peaks of lofty mountains, I do thee reverence; come thou to us in kindly mood, and hear the prayer we offer. Be a good counsellor to Cleubulus. May he receive my love, Deunysus.'

218 HOMER AND EARLY LITERATURE

It is not the Ionic dialect alone that seems to recall Homer in Anacreon in spite of the great difference in style and matter. The fragments of Simonides seem to show a greater originality. Here is part of a lament:

* Ἀνθρῶπος ἔὼν μήποτε φάσῃς ὃ τι γίνεταί αὖριον,
μηδ' ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ὄλβιον, ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσεταί·
ὥκεῖα γάρ οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μύιας
οὕτως ἂν μετὰστασις.¹

Frag. 22 (*ibid.*)

Both poets probably owe such epithets as κυανῶπις, τανυπτερύγος to the Homeric tradition, which kept alive the genius of the language for making and using compounds, while the influence of the gnomic poets is perceptible in the work of Simonides.

Pindar, the Boeotian, stands, so far as our records go, in a class by himself. His songs of congratulation to the victors at the various athletic festivals exhibit that same fresh spirit of morning that was conspicuous in Homer and the early lyric poets. In this his subject-matter aids him, for his method is to introduce and dwell upon a myth or heroic tale connected with the city of the victorious athlete to whom the ode is addressed. Here are two stanzas from the Olympian Odes:

λέγοντι δ' ἐν καὶ θαλάσσῃ
μετὰ κόρασι Νηρῆος Ἀλκίης βίοντον ἄφθιτον
Ἴνοί τετάχθαι τὸν ὄλον ἀμφὶ χρόνον. ἦτοι βροτῶν γε κέκριται
πείρας οὐ τι θανάτου,
οὐδ' ἡσύχιμον ἡμέραν ὁπότε, παῖδ' Ἀελίου,
ἄτειρεῖ σὺν ἀγαθῷ τελευτάσομεν·
ῥοαὶ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι
εὐθυμῖαν τε μετὰ καὶ πόνων ἐς ἄνδρας ἔβαν.
οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρ', ἃ τε πατρῴων
τῶνδ' ἔχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον, θεόρτῳ σὺν ὄλβῳ
ἐπὶ τι καὶ πῆμ' ἄγει παλιντράπελον ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ·
ἐξ οὐπερ ἔκτεινε Λῆον μόριμος υἱὸς
συναντόμενος, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι χρησθέν
παλαίφατον τέλεσσαν.²

Π. 28-40.

¹ 'Since thou art mortal never say what shall be on the morrow, nor how long a man whom thou seest prosperous shall be so. Swifter than the long-winged fly, so swift is change.'

² 'And in the sea too they say that to Ino, among the sea-maids of Nereus, life incorruptible hath been ordained for evermore. Ay but to

HOMER AND EARLY LITERATURE 219

The dialect is artificial, Aeolic, Doric and Homeric forms being used at will. Among the last are unaugmented forms such as τέλεσσεν, the final word of the above extract. Pindar's style is complex and difficult to follow till one becomes accustomed to it. This is a mark of originality in view of the characteristic simplicity of early Greek lyric, but it may well mark the development that meant the end of the early lyric poetry. Pindar's poetry is self-conscious rather than natural, the result of artifice that perhaps had neither the capability or intention of appearing free from artifice. Original as he is, and thoroughly endowed as he is with the spirit of Greek poetry, he marks not the beginning of a new development in the history of the language but the end, the culmination if we prefer, of an era. Perhaps the most prominent feature of his work is his creation of compounds, and in this he shows that he has caught the spirit of the Greek language as well as of poetry, and that he knows how to use it in ways to which it is particularly adapted. In his use of the prepositions, as indeed elsewhere, Pindar is vivid and concrete. He is lofty and idealistic, sharing the same spirit as Aeschylus, with whom he was contemporary.

The amount of the extant work of Bacchylides has been greatly augmented by recent discovery. He was the nephew of Simonides and rival of Pindar, facts that may fairly be said to be appreciable in his poetry. The following is a fragment of his work:

τίκτει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰρήνην μέγ' ἄλ' α,
πλουτοῦν καὶ μελιγλώσσων τ' αἰδοῦν ἄνθεα,
δαδ' ἀλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν θεοῖσιν ἀθεσθα βοῶν
ξανθεῖ φλογὶ μήρα τανυτρίχων τε μήλων,
γυμνασίων τε νέοις αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλειν.

mortals the day of death is certain never, neither at what time we shall see in calm the end of one of the Sun's children, the Days, with good thitherto unfailling; now this way and now that run currents bringing joys or toils to men.

Thus Destiny which from their fathers holdeth the happy fortune of this race [the Emmenidai], together with prosperity heaven-sent bringeth ever at some other time bitter reverse: from the day when Laios was slain by his destined son who met him on the road and made fulfilment of the oracle spoken of old at Pytho.' Ernest Myers' translation.

ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπασιν αἰθεῖν
 ἀραχνάων ἱστοὶ πέλονται·
 ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξιφεά τ' ἀμφακέα δάμανατ' αἰ[νας] εὐρώς.
 χαλκεῶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος,
 οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων,
 ἀφ' ὅς θ' ὅλπει κέαρ.
 συμποσίων δ' ἔρατῶν βρίθοντ' ἀγυαί, παιδείοι θ' ὕμνοι
 φλέγονται.¹ Frag. 7 (J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, III).

It is not difficult to see even in this short fragment the tradition of the gnomic poets, while the influence of Pindar is surely present. The dialect is Doric overlaid by the artificial epic of the poets. The style is simpler and less inspired than that of Pindar.

At the close of the sixth century philosophy, as we have already noticed, was still being taught in hexameter verse. Parmenides of Elea, disciple and successor of Xenophanes, published a long poem *On Nature*, divided into two parts dealing with the unknowable truth (τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν) and with the world of sense (τὰ πρὸς δόξαν). The following extract from the former will illustrate the difficulties under which the author laboured in dealing with abstract philosophy through the medium of hexameter verse:

ταῦτόν δ' ἔστι νοεῖν τε καὶ οὐνεκὲν ἔστι νόημα.
 οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἔόντος, ἐν ᾧ πεφρατισμένον ἔστιν,
 εὐρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ [ἦ] ἔστιν· ἦ ἔσται
 ἄλλο πάρεξ τοῦ ἔόντος, ἐπεὶ τό γε Μοῖρ' ἐπέδησεν
 οὐλον ἀκίνητόν τ' ἔμεναι· τῷ πάντ' ὄνομ' ἔσται
 ὅσσα βροτοὶ κατέθεντο πεποιθότες εἶναι ἀληθῆ,
 γίνεσθαι τε καὶ ὀλλυσθαι, εἶναι τε καὶ οὐχί,
 καὶ τόπον ἀλλάσσειν, διὰ τε χροᾶ φανὸν ἀμείβειν.²

Diels (*Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 4th edit., I, p. 157).

¹ 'Wealth and the flowers of sweet-voiced songs are the gifts of great Peace to men, and the burning of the thighs of oxen and full-fleeced sheep upon the carved altars of the gods with golden flame, and the love of pipes and revelry and the contests of the young. In the iron-bound handles of the shields brown spiders weave their webs. The lance-headed spears and two-edged swords are blunted by rust, and the sound of the brassen trumpets is not heard. Nor is sweet sleep which tends my heart snatched from my eyes. The streets are filled with joyful banqueters and the hymns of children blaze forth.'

² 'Thought and the object of thought are the same, for apart from Being on which it rests there is no thought. There is nought, nor shall there be aught apart from Being, since Destiny has fixed it to an undivided and

Naturally the style resembles that of Xenophanes. The adhesion of the philosophers to verse as their mode of expression for so long was for the reason that prose was regarded as a humble form of diction suited only to less lofty subjects. Their own teaching, being regarded as the loftiest of all, was thought to be only capable of expression in poetry. To use prose was too great a condescension. In the passage quoted above we find the use of τὸ ὄν (or in Ionic τὸ εἶν) in the sense of 'existence' or 'reality'. This is a familiar example of an abstract sense being given to one of the simplest of expressions, as well as an illustration of the adroitness of the usage of the article combined with the participle. The expression is of course familiar throughout the philosophical writings.

A generation later Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily, representative of a rival school to that of the Eleatics, still writes in hexameter verse. His style is more direct and fired with greater imagination than that of the Eleatics, the mode of expression appearing less incongruous. Nevertheless it illustrates the need of a descent to the more practical prose. The following quotation from his work in spite of the absurdity of the subject-matter is not an unworthy piece of verse:

ἦ πολλὰ μὲν κόρσαι ἀναύχενες ἐβλάστησαν,
 γυμνοὶ δ' ἐπλάζοντο βραχίονες εὐνίδες ὤμων,
 ὁματὰ τ' οἱ ἐπλανᾶτο πενητεύοντα μετώπων.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μείζον ἐμίσγετο δαίμονι δαίμων,
 ταῦτά τε συμπίπτεσκον ὅπῃ συνέκυρσεν ἕκαστα
 ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς πολλὰ διηνεκὴ ἐξεγένοντο.
 πολλὰ μὲν ἀμφιπρόσωπα καὶ ἀμφίστερνα φύεσθαι
 βουγενῇ ἀνδρόπρωρα, τὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐξανετέλλειν
 ἀνδροφυῇ βούκρανα, μεμιγμένα τῇ μὲν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν
 τῇ δὲ γυναικοφυῇ, σκieroῖς ἡσκημένα γυίοις.¹ *ibid.* pp. 245-7.

unmovable existence. Compared with it all things are but a name that mortals confidently set down to be true, becoming and perishing, being and not being, changing position and assuming light colour.'

¹ 'Whereupon many heads sprang forth without necks, and naked arms wandered about bereft of shoulders, while eyes wandered about alone deprived of faces. But when power mingled more closely with power, they came together where each happened to meet and many other things in addition continuous with them came into being. Many creatures were evolved with more than one face or more than one chest, ox-like but human in front, and again human creatures arose with bulls' heads, of mixed male and female nature, wrought with dark-coloured limbs.'

This passage is bold and original. Homeric influence is confined practically to the metre, while no particular style of the past can be said to have exercised appreciable influence upon it. Yet it is essentially Greek, as is seen most prominently perhaps by the number of compound formations that it contains. The vocabulary is to a large extent that of prose, although the combination $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ provides a link with epic.

Philosophers subsequent to Empedocles take to writing in prose, and in the middle of the fifth century the stream of pure lyric poetry, save for the dithyramb, largely ceases. The chief place in literature is now taken by drama and prose. While the roots of both go back into the sixth century, those of comedy indeed to the beginning of it, the social changes that accompanied the Persian Wars may be said to have provided their opportunity.

During all the period from Homer till the fifth century there is one all-important gap in our records, a gap that in the nature of things it would have been difficult if not impossible to fill. This gap is our lack of acquaintance with the spoken language. It can never be supplied, although its supply is essential to a real acquaintance with the Greek tongue of the period. We know only in a quite general way what sounds were represented by the letters, and we can never tell the colloquial idiom or vocabulary, the slang of the period. It is because we have only the literary language that we are inclined to regard the Greeks of the early period as heroes, living always in a world composed of lofty and dignified ideals, conversing in poetry and song. This is of course what they never did. The very excellence of their poetry implies the existence of a world of disappointment, to escape from which they employed their literary art. They lived in a world as real and as humdrum as that of the present day. The majority of them were uneducated people, labouring in the fields or fighting in the armies of their native town. Strange as it may seem, many, possibly a majority, would never have heard of Sappho or Alcman or Anacreon, and to many who had, their poetry would mean nothing or very little. The

literary records that we possess are the work in most cases probably of members of literary coteries. They do not represent the everyday speech of the period, which is irretrievably lost to us, or at best can be but imperfectly surmised. Indeed, as we have seen, the period witnessed an increasing divorce between the conversational and literary idioms. The first light thrown upon the former comes from the pages of Aristophanes.

To sum up the conclusions as to the development of the language that can be reached from the records of the early literature, we find that linguistic change took place in the period between Homer and Hesiod. Certain combinations of sounds were in the Homeric poems in a stage of development midway between what they were in the parent language and what they were in later Greek, conceivably even nearer to the former. Morphology was still developing, certain case endings being employed in Homers which do not appear in the same function later. Syntax, particularly perhaps of the moods, was in a fluid condition, later becoming more stereotyped. From Hesiod onwards there is little recognisable fundamental change. There is simply the adaptation of the language to various literary needs, a common factor throughout being the prolific formation of compounds. The dialects remain alive throughout, in poetry all coloured by the artificial imitation of the dialect of Homer. The fervent life of the language is shown by the variety of metres to which it adapts itself, its poetry being excellent in all. The vocabulary of lyric poetry was in the nature of the case different from that of epic, and the lyric and gnomic poets of the seventh and sixth centuries combined to build up the peculiarly rich vocabulary that became the heritage of the dramatists. Finally the early philosophers brought to literature new technical uses of words that in their simpler and more concrete sense must have been familiar in everyday speech.

Chapter IX

THE GOLDEN AGE

The close of the Persian Wars ushers in the greatest of all ages for Greek literature. Lyric and iambic poetry both became adsorbed in drama, while the needs of philosophy and history caused a development of prose. Drama had begun in the sixth century, the first comedy in Athens being developed by Susario, a Megarian, about the year 570, but it is in the fifth century that it became prevalent. Similarly tragedy appears in the sixth century with the name, for example, of Choerilus the Athenian who flourished about 520, but it reached its greatest heights almost at the beginning of its career in Aeschylus who lived 525-456. The study of the great tragedians is the study of literature rather than language. We know only inaccurately how their lines were pronounced, being able only to form general ideas of the various sounds that composed the syllables and words. We may be tolerably certain that there was little phonetic change during the fifth century. Similarly we have not reached the age of inflexional changes such as the disuse of the optative mood and the consequent syntactical shifting. The language remains in all respects what we find it to be in the post-Hesiodic age. The variety of verbal formations and the wealth of particles provide a magnificent keyboard from which to produce the harmonies of some of the greatest known drama of the world. The tragedians will not tell us any fact about the language that would have been strange to us had their remains entirely perished, but they will illustrate the adaptability of the language and its employment without strain or perversion in a sphere of extreme dignity and loftiness.

Before Aeschylus we have nothing but fragments and names, and in the hands of Aeschylus tragedy was still being moulded. There is a preponderance of lyric as compared with

the iambic of the later dramatists. The language is the same as we have found it in the work of the earlier lyricists. Here is a passage from the *Persae* in a swinging trochaic metre: Queen Atossa is speaking:

ταῦτα δὴ λιποῦσ' ἱκάνω χρυσεοστόλους δόμους
καὶ τὸ Δαρείου τε κάμιν κοινὸν εὐνατήριον.
καί με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς· ἐς δ' ὕμᾶς ἑρῶ
μῦθον, οὐδαμῶς ἐμαντῆς οὐσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κοίνας οὐδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ
δλβρον, ὃν Δαρεῖος ἦρεν οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινός.
ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμνα φραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν,
μήτε χρημάτων ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος ἐν τιμῇ σέβειν,
μήτ' ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς δσον σθένος πάρα.
ἔστι γὰρ πλοῦτός γ' ἀμεμφής, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμῷ φόβος·
ὄμμα γὰρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότης παρουσίαν.
πρὸς τάδ' ὥς οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶνδε, σύμβουλοι λόγου
τοῦδ' ἐμοὶ γένεσθε, Πέρσαι, γηραλέα πιστώματα·
πάντα γὰρ τὰ κέδν' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστί μοι βουλευμάτα.

And the chorus replies:

εὐ τόδ' ἴσθι, γῆς ἀνασσα τῆσδε, μή σε δις φράσαι
μήτ' ἔπος μήτ' ἔργον ὦν ἂν δύναμις ἡγεῖσθαι θέλῃ·
εὐμενεῖς γὰρ ὄντας ἡμᾶς τῶνδε συμβούλους καλεῖς.¹

Persae, 159-75.

Taken as a whole this passage gives the impression of simplicity of language. It is in no sense naïve, but the vocabulary is largely that of prose. The arrangement is straightforward, the sense easy to follow. The words are of the solid indispen-

¹ 'I am come from the gold-decked halls and the chamber I share with Darius. Care gnaweth at my heart; to you will I speak my mind, for you are friends. I cannot rid me of the fear lest too great wealth heaping the ground with dust overturn with its foot that prosperous state, which Darius hath attained with the help of the gods. This twofold care I ponder in my mind, lest abundance of wealth in the absence of those who possess it is not to be held in honour, and lest the light of happiness shine not as it may upon those who have no wealth. To possess wealth is no cause for reproach, it is for our precious eye that I fear, for I consider the presence of the master is the eye of the home. Since my fears are such, be my counsellors in this matter, ye faithful Persian elders; for to you I look for all my trusty counsel.'

'Be assured, O queen of this land, that thou needest not to speak twice of word or deed wherein we have power to guide thee. Thou shalt find us kindly counsellors in these things.'

sable kind that make up the framework of Greek vocabulary. The chief exceptions are the word εὐνατήριον, which, so far as we have any record of it, was confined to tragedy, and the expression γηραλέα πιστώματα, which is equivalent in meaning to πιστοὶ γέροντες. These phrases would assist to build up an effect that would in combination stir the emotions and play its part in transporting the listener from the world of real life to the world of tragedy. The mutual change of place between substantive and epithet in the expression γηραλέα πιστώματα would heighten the effect of unreality and again help to create the tragic world. Modern poetry has not at its command except to the smallest extent this special vocabulary that the Greek poets had built up. It seeks to create the same effect by manipulation of the sentence much more than of the word or by the free use of archaisms. It is difficult to judge to what extent the use of archaisms occurred in the Greek dramatists. They were probably sparingly employed. There was no need, for the language provided readier means for creating the desired effect. The word εὐνατήριον moreover, for Attic εὐνητήριον, provides an example of the employment of Doric, or artificial Doric, forms, which seems to have been universal among the tragedians in lyric passages. It probably produced the same effect as does the use of archaisms, for example the second singular personal pronoun, in modern English.

The following lyric is from Aeschylus' greatest work, *Agamemnon*:

βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα πειθῶ,
 προβούλου παῖς ἀφερτος ἄτας.
 ἄκος δὲ πᾶν μάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,
 πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·
 κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
 τρίβῳ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει
 δικαιοθεῖς, ἐπεὶ
 διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν,
 πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἀφερτον ἐνθεῖς.
 λιτᾶν δ' ἄκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν,
 τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶν
 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.

οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἔλθων
 ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρεΐδαν
 ἥσχυνε ξενίαν τράπε-
 ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.

λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστοράς
 τε καὶ κλόνας λογχίμους
 ναυβάτας ὀπλισμούς,
 ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλῖω φθοράν
 βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν
 ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον
 τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·
 ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,
 ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες.
 πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἀτίμους ἄλοιδόρους
 ἄλγιστ' ἀφημένων ἰδεῖν.
 πόθω δ' ὑπερποντίας
 φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
 εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί.
 ὁμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίασι
 ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.¹

385-419.

The language of this passage is as far removed from everyday speech as it is possible to imagine. It may well be that many Greeks who heard or read the words for the first time failed to catch much of the meaning that lay behind them.

¹ 'Strong is that obstinate persuasion, servant of Blindness and shaper of her decree. Remedy is all vain. Unhidden the mischief glows with a baleful light. Like base metal beneath the rub and touch, he shows the black grain when brought to justice (for his pursuit is idle as the boy's who follows the flying bird), and leaves upon his people a fatal mark of the touching. Deaf to supplication, the gods condemn for wicked whosoever is conversant with such. Such was the sin of Paris, who came to that house of the Atridae and dishonoured the hospitable board by theft of the wife. Leaving to her countrymen the din of shield and spear and the arming of fleets, and bringing to Ilium ruin for her dower, she had passed with light step, careless of sin, through the gates. And oft they sighed, the interpreters of the home, as they said, "Ah for the home! aha, for the home! Aha, and ah, for the princes thereof, for the husband's bed yet printed with her embrace. We can see him there, his curses mocked with silence, the parted spouse, the sweetest sight of them all! He shall pine for her that is far beyond sea, the lord of the house, till he seems but a phantom lord. Grace of beautiful idols the husband hateth: in the want of the eyes all the passion is gone".'

A. W. Verrall's translation.

The emotional effect would be easier to capture. Its expression constitutes a sort of additional burden upon the language, which it proves itself well able to bear, although the meaning is made less obvious. The metre assists both these effects. If the form τῶν in line 397 be original, it is an instance of epic usage. Such a use has sufficient parallel, but the reading of the MSS. is τῶνδε, which is a normal Attic demonstrative. The compounds αἰνολαμπές and μελαμπαγής are again typical illustrations of the vitality of the language in the formation of such words. The use of the plural in the form κλοπαῖσι (l. 402) is a poetic device. The omission of the article, as contrasted with its use in prose, is striking. In the second stanza it does not occur once, its absence being particularly forceful in the last three sentences beginning with πόθῳ. The effect of this omission is not to give a vagueness or indefiniteness to the meaning but to increase to a great extent the sense of distance from everyday life, and to add to the loftiness and dignity of expression as nouns and adjectives roll forth one after the other unimpeded in their procession by the pause or possible jerkiness that might be caused by the monosyllabic article. It is obvious also that apart from external expression the omission of the article would have an effect upon the mind and emotions that it is difficult to estimate. The occasional Doric forms will be noticed.

We may compare with the lyric the following iambic passage forming the concluding part of Clytemnestra's speech after the arrival home of Agamemnon:

ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι
 πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἐνὶ σταγῶν.
 ἐν ὀψικοῖσι δ' ὁμασιν βλάβας ἔχω
 τὰς ἀμφὶ σοὶ κλαίουσα λαμπτηρουχίας
 ἀτμηλήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν
 λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην
 ῥιπαῖσι θωύσσοντος, ἀμφὶ σοὶ πάθη
 ὀρώσα πλεῖω τοῦ ξυλεύδοντος χρόνου.
 νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ' ἀπενθήτω φρενὶ
 λέγοιμ' ἄν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,
 σωτήρα ναὶς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης
 στῦλον ποδῆρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,
 καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἑλπίδα,

κάλλιστον ἤμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,
 ὀδοπύργῳ διψῶντι πηγᾶσιν ῥέος.
 τερπνὸν δὲ τᾶναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.
 τοιοῖσδ' ἐγὼ νῦν ἀξίῳ προσφθέγμασιν.
 φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ
 ἤνειχόμεσθα. νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κάρα,
 ἔκβαν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεῖς
 τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.
 δμῳαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος
 πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν;
 εὐθύς γενέσθω πορφυρόστατος πόρος
 ἐς δῶμ' ἀελπτον ὥς ἂν ἡγήται δίκη.
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνω νικωμένη
 θήσει δικαίως σὺν θεοῖς εἰμαρμένα.¹

Agam. 887-913.

In the matter of vocabulary there is no appreciable difference between the lyrics and iambics of the dramatists. The non-Attic forms do not occur in the latter. The compounds are as numerous in the one as the other, while the omission of the article is noticeable in iambic but not to the same extent. The general constitution of the sentences is nearer to that of prose than in the case of lyric. In comparing the language of ancient Greek poetry with that of prose it is necessary to remember that the cleavage goes behind language to thought. In modern times there are few themes

¹ 'But as for me, the fountains of my tears have run themselves dry, and there is no drop there. With watching late mine eyes are sore, with weeping for thine attendance of torch bearers neglected still. The droning gnat with lightest flutter would wake me from dreams, in which I saw thee pass through more than the time of my sleep. Now, after all this misery, in the relief of my soul, I would hail this my husband as a watch-dog to the fold, the ship's securing stay, the high roof's grounded pillar, as a child sole-born to a father hopeless, or land espied by mariners in despair, dawn as it looks most beautiful after storm, a flowing spring to the thirsty wayfarer,—but everywhere escape from distress is sweet; in *such-like* titles then would my praising run. And let jealousy refrain, seeing how much was the woe we endured before. But now, I pray thee, beloved, step from this car—but not on the earth, king, set that foot of thine, which has humbled Troy. Slaves, why delay thee to do your commanded office, and strow the ground of his way with coverings? In a moment let the laid path be turned to purple, that to a home unexpected he may have conduct due. "And for the rest," a vigilance never laid asleep shall order it as just providence, I trust, intends.' A. W. Verrall's translation.

incapable of being treated both in poetry and prose. In Greece of the fifth century this was not so. If, for example, we take the passage quoted above sentence by sentence and endeavour to picture how it would have been expressed, we find that such a theme could not have been expressed in prose at all. The two forms were not interchangeable. Prose was winning its way and widening its sphere, but it was not yet regarded as a suitable medium for drama, comic or tragic. It was confined to the less idealistic and more practical subjects. It is thus less surprising that the difference in vocabulary between the two should have existed. This was due as much to a difference of subject-matter as to form of expression. And yet on analysis the difference is seen to be not so much a complete difference of root or stem as a difference of forms derived from the same stems. This is partly due to the exigencies of metre, forms that fitted well metrically tending to become crystallised in poetry even when they were lost in prose or never adapted to it, although Greek with its large number of long words and frequent vowels and open syllables had little difficulty with metre. But forms were coined by the poets on the analogy of other poetic forms for the purpose of heightening and maintaining emotional effect. Lines such as 901 in the passage above, consisting of four words only, even sometimes of three, are typical of the tragedians and produce an undeniable effect of magnificence and strength. Just as Aeschylus and his successors borrowed from and built upon the work of both the didactic and lyric poets who preceded them, absorbing both traditions and perfecting them, so they seem to have gathered up into a single superb crowning edifice the conscious artistic skill employed by these poets upon the very words and forms and their combinations which they use¹. Aeschylus in this resembles his contemporary Pindar. Language in their hands is not the simple expression of an emotion, request for information or notification of wish. It is the elaborate finished product of a sublime artist. Every word, every turn of the sentence, every form is the object of

¹ A considerable number of forms used by the poets that differ from the Attic of everyday speech are due to Ionic literary influence.

deliberate skill exercised not with laboured difficulty but with the natural ease of genius. This will be manifest if we go again through the passages quoted noting the strength and weight of every word. The art of language, with which the early poets were richly endowed, reached its height in the lofty and elaborate yet unlaboured genius of Aeschylus and his contemporaries.

Of other tragedians, Phrynichus or Ion of Chios, whose genius was probably not as great as that of those whose works we possess, we have but fragments. We must consider how Sophocles, the younger contemporary of Aeschylus, carried on the linguistic tradition. Here is part of the dialogue between Oedipus and the messenger to whom he had been handed as an infant. The moment is one of dramatic tenseness as the action leads up to the revelation of the secrets of Oedipus' birth:

- ΟΙ. πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γὰρ Πόλυβος ἐξέφυσέ με;
 ΑΓ. οὐ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν τοῦδε τάνδρος, ἀλλ' Ἴσον.
 ΟΙ. καὶ πῶς ὁ φύσας ἐξ Ἰσου τῷ μηδενί;
 ΑΓ. ἀλλ' οὐ σ' ἐγείνατ' οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος οὐτ' ἐγώ.
 ΟΙ. ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ δὴ παῖδά μ' ὠνομάζετο;
 ΑΓ. δῶρόν ποτ', ἴσθι, τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν λαβῶν.
 ΟΙ. κῆθ' ὧδ' ἅπ' ἄλλης χειρὸς ἔστερξεν μέγα;
 ΑΓ. ἡ γὰρ πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐξέπεισ' ἀπαιδίᾳ.
 ΟΙ. σὺ δ' ἐμπολήσας ἦ τυχὼν μ' αὐτῷ δίδως;
 ΑΓ. εὐρὼν ναπαῖαις ἐν Κίθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς.
 ΟΙ. ὠδοιπόροις δὲ πρὸς τί τούσδε τοὺς τόπους;
 ΑΓ. ἐνταῦθ' ὀρείοις ποιμνίοις ἐπεστάτουν.
 ΟΙ. ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦσθα κάπῃ θητεῖα πλάνης;
 ΑΓ. σοῦ τ', ὦ τέκνον, σωτήρ γε τῷ τότ' ἐν χρόνῳ.
 ΟΙ. τί δ' ἄλγος ἴσχοντ' ἀγκάλαις με λαμβάνεις;
 ΑΓ. ποδῶν ἂν ἄρθρα μαρτυρήσειεν τὰ σά.
 ΟΙ. οἶμοι, τί τοῦτ' ἀρχαῖον ἐννέπεις κακόν;
 ΑΓ. λύω σ' ἔχοντα διατόρους ποδοῖν ἀκμάς.
 ΟΙ. δεινόν γ' ὕνεδος σπαργάνων ἀνελδόμεν.
 ΑΓ. ὥστ' ὠνομάσθης ἐκ τύχης ταύτης ὅς εἰ.
 ΟΙ. ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, πρὸς μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς; φράσον.
 ΑΓ. οὐκ οἶδ'. ὁ δούς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ λῶον φρονεῖ.
 ΟΙ. ἡ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλου μ' ἔλαβες οὐδ' αὐτὸς τυχών;
 ΑΓ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ποιμὴν ἄλλος ἐκδίδωσί μοι.
 ΟΙ. τίς οὗτος; ἢ κάτοισθα δηλῶσαι λόγῳ;
 ΑΓ. τῶν Λαίου δῆπου τις ὠνομάζετο.

ΟΙ. ἢ τοῦ τυράννου τῆσδε γῆς πάλαι ποτέ;
 ΑΓ. μάλιστα· τοῦτου τάνδρὸς οὗτος ἦν βοτήρ.
 ΟΙ. ἢ κάστ' ἔτι ζῶν οὗτος, ὥστ' ἰδεῖν ἐμέ;
 ΑΓ. ὑμεῖς γ' ἄριστ' εἰδείτ' ἂν οὔπιχῶροι.¹

Oed. Tyr. 1017-46.

It will be seen at once that the language is much simpler than that of Aeschylus, simpler even than that of our first quotation from the *Persae*. The poet relies for his effect more upon plot and action than language. The sense is clearer to follow than that of Aeschylus. Yet there is a noticeable difference between the language and that of prose. Expressions

- ¹ 'OE. What say'st thou? Was not Polybus my sire?
 ME. As much thy sire as I am, and no more.
 OE. My sire no more to me than one who is naught!
 ME. Since I begat thee not, no more did he.
 OE. What reason had he then to call me son?
 ME. Know that he took thee from my hands, a gift.
 OE. Yet if no child of his, he loved me well.
 ME. A childless man till then, he warmed to thee.
 OE. A foundling or a purchased slave, this child?
 ME. I found thee in Cithaeron's wooded glens.
 OE. What led thee to explore those upland glades?
 ME. My business was to tend the mountain flocks.
 OE. A vagrant shepherd journeying for hire?
 ME. True, but thy saviour in that hour, my son.
 OE. My saviour? From what harm? What ailed me then?
 ME. Those ankle joints are evidence enow.
 OE. Ah, why remind me of that ancient sore?
 ME. I loosed the pin that riveted thy feet.
 OE. Yes, from my cradle that dread brand I bore.
 ME. Whence thou deriv'st the name that still is thine.
 OE. Who did it? I adjure thee, tell me who.
 Say, was it father, mother?
 ME. I know not.
 The man from whom I had thee may know more.
 OE. What, did another find me, not thyself?
 ME. Not I: another shepherd gave thee me.
 OE. Who was he? Wouldst thou know again the man?
 ME. He passed indeed for one of Laius' house.
 OE. The king who ruled the country long ago?
 ME. The same: he was a herdsman of the king.
 OE. And is he living still for me to see him?
 ME. His fellow countrymen should best know that.'

F. Storr's translation.

such as ναπαΐαις ἐν πτυχαῖς or ὀρεῖσις ποιμνίσις obviously belong to the language of poetry only. Few words might not occur in the vocabulary of prose, but many are used in another sense that heightens the emotional effect, if not to the extent to which Aeschylus' language creates another world for his hearers, at least to the extent of giving a distinct sense of pleasure. Thus ὁ φύσας is used for ὁ πατήρ, and the imperative φράσον used singly and emphatically belongs to this category. This is best borne out perhaps by the general effect of the passage, any further discussion of which would stray from the province of language to that of literature.

Here are two stanzas from a chorus in Sophocles' *Ajax*:

ὦ κλεινὰ Σαλαμίς, σὺ μὲν που
ναεῖς ἀλίπλεκτος, εὐδαίμων,
πᾶσιν περίφαντος αἶε·
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πλάμων παλαιὸς ἀφ' οὗ χρόνος
Ἰδαίᾳ μίμων λειμώνι ἔπαυλα μηνῶν
ἀνήριθμος αἰὲν εὐνῶμαι
χρόνῳ τρυχόμενος,
κακὰν ἔλπιδ' ἔχων
ἔτι μέ ποτ' ἀνύσειν
τὸν ἀπότηρον ἀδελὸν Ἀΐδαν.

καὶ μοι δυσθεράπευτος Αἴας
ζύνεστιν ἔφεδρος, ὦμοι μοι,
θεία μανίᾳ ξύναιλος·
ὃν ἐξεπέμψω πρὶν δὴ ποτε θουρίῳ
κρατοῦντ' ἐν Ἀρεῖ· νῦν δ' αὖ φρενὸς οἰοβώτας
φίλοις μέγα πένθος ἡύρηται.
τὰ πρὶν δ' ἔργα χερσὶν
μεγίστας ἀρετὰς
ἀφίλα παρ' ἀφίλοις
ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε μελέοις Ἀτρεΐδαις.¹

597-621.

1

'Ah, Salamis, blessed isle,
Secure, serene,
Above the waves that lash thy shore,
As ocean's queen,
Thou sittest evermore.
But I in exile drear,
Month after month, year after year,
On Ida's meads must bivouac, all forlorn
By time outworn;
And ever nearer, ever darker loom
The night of Hades and eternal gloom.

The effect of these lyrics as compared with those of Aeschylus is much the same as the comparative effect of the two poets' iambics. The language is less rugged, its softer beauty being as great as that of Aeschylus' work, to some minds perhaps more pleasing. Again the sense is easier to follow and the vocabulary more familiar. The personification of Salamis and the phrase *ὃν ἐξεπέμψω* find echoes in more modern romantic poetry. The absence of the article is less frequent but still appreciable in contrast to prose.

Though the passages quoted are typical of the work of Sophocles, it cannot be said that such meagre quotation does him justice. Familiarity with his work is necessary in order to realise his use of the language. The necessities of space however oblige us to leave him and pass on to the work of the most popular of the three great tragedians, Euripides. In him we shall find the simplicity of language carried further. We are no longer in the ideal world of Aeschylus but in a real world with real characters, upon whose kinship with the audience to which he appeals Euripides relies for the effect he desires to produce. The following is a lament of captive Trojan women from the *Hecuba*, not perhaps the most beautiful chorus of the play, but well illustrating the degree to which Euripides carried simplicity of language even in lyrics:

ἔμοι χρεὴν συμφορὰν,
 ἔμοι χρεὴν πημονὴν γενέσθαι,
 ἴδαιάν τε πρῶτον ὕλαν
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλατίναν
 ἐτάμεθ' ὄλιον ἐπ' ὀδμα νανστολήσων
 Ἑλένας ἐπὶ λέκτρα, τὰν

And now to crown my grief
 Comes a new woe,
 My leader Ajax, mad beyond relief,
 By heaven laid low;
 How fallen from that impetuous chief,
 Who sailed to meet the foe.

Now, to his friends' distress,
 He sits and broods in sullen loneliness;
 Those doughty deeds his right hand wrought
 Now count for naught,
 And from that loveless pair, those men of sin,
 No love but despite win.'

F. Storr's translation.

καλλίσταν, ὁ χρυσοφαῖς
Ἄλιος αὐγάζει.

πόννοι γάρ καὶ πόνων
ἀνάγκαι κρείσσονες κυκλοῦνται,
κοινὸν δ' ἐξ ἰδίας ἀνοίας
κακὸν τᾷ Σιμουντίδι γὰρ
ὀλέθριον ἔμολε συμφορὰ τ' ἀπ' ἄλλων.
ἐκρίθη δ' ἔρις, ὅν ἐν Ἰ-
δᾷ κρίνει τρισσὰς μακάρων
παῖδας ἀνὴρ βούτας,

ἐπὶ δορὶ καὶ φόνῳ καὶ ἑμῶν μελάρων λῶβᾳ·
στένει δὲ καὶ τις ἀμφὶ τὸν εὐροον Εὐρώταν
Λάκαπνα πολυδάκρυτος ἐν δόμοις κόρα,
πολίον τ' ἐπὶ κρᾶτα μάτηρ
τέκνων θανόντων
τίθεται χεῖρα δρύπτεται τε παρειάν,
δίαυμον ὄνυχᾳ τιθεμένα σπαραγμοῖς.¹

629-57.

Incidentally the Doric forms are conspicuous in this chorus.
The grandeur of Aeschylus is gone. The language is still such

1

'My doom of disaster was written,
The doom of mine anguish was sealed,
When of Paris the pine-shafts were smitten
Upon Ida, that earthward they reeled,
To ride over ridges surf-whitened,
Till the bride-bed of Helen was won,
Woman fairest of all that be lightened
By the golden sun.

For battle-toils, yea, desolations
Yet sorer around us closed;
And the folly of one is the nation's
Destruction; of alien foes
Cometh ruin by Simois' waters.
So judged is the judgment given
When on Ida the strife of the Daughters
Of the Blessed was striven,

For battle, for murder, for ruin
Of mine halls:—by Eurotas is moan,
Where with tears for their homes' undoing
The maidens Laconian groan,
Where rendeth her tresses hoary
The mother for sons that are dead,
And her cheeks with woe-furrows are gory,
And her fingers are red.' A. S. Way's translation.

as would only be used in poetry, but a considerable section of the vocabulary is used as it would be in prose, or, we may confidently hope, as it would be in everyday speech. Notable is the word *χρῆν*, the first two lines of the second stanza, the words *κοινόν*, *κακόν*, *ἐκρίθη*, *ἔρις*, *μάτηρ*, *τίθεται*. There is a gentle sadness about the poetry, a sense of sympathy with human sorrow and weakness that demonstrates the distance travelled from the days of Aeschylus and Pindar.

The same simplicity is brought out in Euripides' iambic dialogue. Here is part of the recognition scene between Orestes and his sister Iphigenia:

ΙΦ. ἐγὼ σ' ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμὸν; οὐ παύσει λέγων;
τὸ δ' Ἄργος αὐτοῦ μεστὸν ἦ τε Ναυπλία.

ΟΡ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐκεῖ σός, ὦ τάλαινα, σύγγονος.

ΙΦ. ἄλλ' ἢ Λάκαινα Τυνδαρίς σ' ἐγείνατο;

ΟΡ. Πέλοπος γε παιδί παιδός, οὐ 'κπέφυκ' ἐγώ.

ΙΦ. τί φής; ἔχεις τι τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ τεκμήριον;

ΟΡ. ἔχω· πατρῶων ἐκ δόμων τι πυρθάνου.

ΙΦ. οὐκοῦν λέγειν μὲν χρὴ σέ, μαυθάνειν δ' ἐμέ.

ΟΡ. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἀκοῇ πρῶτον Ἥλέκτρας τάδε.

Ἄτρεός Θεέστου τ' οἶσθα γενομένην ἔριν;

ΙΦ. ἤκουσα, χρυσῆς ἀρνὸς οὐνεκ' ἦν πέρι.

ΟΡ. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑφήνασ' οἶσθ' ἐν εὐπῆνοις ὑφαῖς;

ΙΦ. ὦ φίλτατ', ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐμῶν κάμπτεται φρενῶν.

ΟΡ. εἰκὼς τ' ἐν ἱστοῖς ἡλίου μετάστασιν;

ΙΦ. ὑφήνα καὶ τόδ' εἶδος εὐμίτοις πλοκαῖς.

ΟΡ. καὶ λούτρ' ἐς Αὔλιν μητρὸς ἀνεδέξω πάρα;

ΙΦ. οἶδ'· οὐ γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἐσθλὸς ὢν μ' ἀφείλετο.

ΟΡ. τί γάρ; κόμος σὺν μητρὶ δοῦσα σῇ φέρειν;

ΙΦ. μνημεῖά γ' ἀντὶ σώματος τοῦμοῦ τάφω.

ΟΡ. ἃ δ' εἶδον αὐτός, τάδε φράσω τεκμήρια·

Πέλοπος παλαιὰν ἐν δόμοις λόγχην πατρός,

ἦν χερσὶ πάλλιν παρθένον Πισάτιδα

ἐκτίσασθ' Ἰπποδάμειαν, Οἰνώμαον κτανών,

ἐν παρθενῶσι τοῖσι σοῖς κεκρυμμένην.¹

Iph. in Tauris, 803-21.

- 1 'IPH. I?—Thee?—My brother?—Wilt not hold thy peace?
In Argos and in Nauplia great is he.

OR. Not there, unhappy one, thy brother is.

IPH. Did Tyndareus' Spartan daughter bare thee then?

OR. To Pelops' son's son, of whose loins I sprang.

IPH. What say'st thou?—Hast thou proof hereof for me?

OR. I have. Ask somewhat of our father's home.

As in the case of the passage from the *Oedipus Tyrannus* the emotional effect depends here upon the dramatic situation and not upon the language. If the restrictions of the metre were removed we should detect less difference from the language of prose than perhaps we imagine. Certain phrases are poetical, such as εὐπήνοις ὑφαῖς or εὐμίτοις πλοκαῖς.

We will compare, or contrast, with the dialogue quoted above a passage which perhaps shows Euripides at his greatest heights, and this will close our quotations from tragedy. This is part of Medea's speech as she struggles against her determination to kill her children:

φεῦ, φεῦ, τί προσδέρκεσθέ μ' ὄμμασιν, τέκνα;
 τί προσγέλᾳτε τὸν πανύστατον γέλων;
 αἰαί· τί δράσω; καρδία γὰρ οἴχεται,
 γυναῖκες, ὄμμα φαίδρον ὡς εἶδον τέκνων.
 οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην· χαιρέτω βουλευµατα
 τὰ πρόσθεν· ἄξω παῖδας ἐκ γαίης ἐμούς.
 τί δει με πατέρα τῶνδε τοῖς τούτων κακοῖς
 λυποῦσαν αὐτὴν δις τόσα κτᾶσθαι κακά;
 οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε· χαιρέτω βουλευµατα.
 καίτοι τί πάσχω; βούλομαι γέλῳτ' ὀφλεῖν
 ἐχθροὺς μεθεῖσα τοὺς ἐμούς ἀζημίους;
 τολμητέον τάδ'. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κᾶκης,
 τὸ καὶ πρόσθαι μαλθακοὺς λόγους φρενί.

IPH. Now nay; 'tis thou must speak, 'tis I must learn.

OR. First will I name this—from Electra heard;—

Know'st thou of Atreus' and Thyestes' feud?

IPH. I heard, how of a golden lamb it came.

OR. This broidered in thy web rememberest thou?

IPH. Dearest, thy chariot-wheels roll nigh my heart!

OR. And pictured in thy loom, the sun turned back?

IPH. This too I wrought with fine-spun broidery-threads.

OR. Bath-water at Aulis had'st thou from thy mother?—

IPH. I know—that bridal's bliss stole not remembrance.

OR. Again—thine hair unto thy mother sent?

IPH. Yea, a grave-token in my body's stead.

OR. What myself saw, these will I name for proofs;

In our sire's halls was Pelops' ancient spear,

Swayed in his hands when Pisa's maid he won,

Hippodameia, and slew he Oenomaus:

Hidden it was within thy maiden bower.'

A. S. Way's translation.

χωρεῖτε παῖδες εἰς δόμους· ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ
 θέμις παρῆναι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι θύμασιν,
 αὐτῷ μελήσει· χεῖρα δ' οὐ διαφθερῶ.
 ἄ ἄ,
 μὴ δῆτα, θυμέ, μὴ σύ γ' ἐργάσθῃ τάδε·
 ἕασον αὐτούς, ὦ τάλαν, φείσαι τέκνων·
 ἐκεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν ζῶντες εὐφρανοῦσί σε.
 μὰ τοὺς παρ' Ἀΐδῃ νερτέρους ἀλάστορας,
 οὗτοι ποτ' ἔσται τοῦθ' ὅπως ἐχθροῖς ἐγὼ
 παῖδας παρήσω τοὺς ἐμούς καθυβρίσαι.
 πάντως σφ' ἀνάγκη καταθανεῖν· ἐπεὶ δε χρὴ,
 ἡμεῖς κτενοῦμεν οἷπερ ἐξεφύσαμεν.
 πάντως πέπτρωται ταῦτα, κοῦκ ἐκφεύξεται.
 καὶ δὴ 'πὶ κρατὶ στέφανος, ἐν πέπλοις δὲ
 νύμφῃ τύραννος ἄλλυται, σάφ' οἶδ' ἐγὼ.
 ἀλλ', εἰμι γάρ δὴ τλημονεστάτην ὁδόν,
 καὶ τούσδε πέμψω τλημονεστέραν ἔτι,
 παῖδας προσεπιεῖν βούλομαι. δότ', ὦ τέκνα,
 δότ' ἀσπάσασθαι μητρὶ δεξιάν χεῖρα.
 ὦ φιλότῃ χεῖρ, φίλτατον δέ μοι στόμα
 καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον εὐγενὲς τέκνων,
 εὐδαιμονοίτην, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ· τὰ δ' ἐνθάδε
 πατήρ ἀφειλετ'. ὦ γλυκεῖα προσβολή,
 ὦ μαλθακὸς χρῶς πνεῦμά θ' ἡδιστον τέκνων.
 χωρεῖτε χωρεῖτ'. οὐκέτ' εἰμι προσβλέπειν
 οἶα τ' ἐς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ νικῶμαι κακοῖς.
 καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἶα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά·
 θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσω τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων,
 ὅσπερ μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν βροτοῖς.¹ *Medea, 1040-80.*

1

'Woe! Woe! Why gaze your eyes on me, my darlings?
 Why smile to me the latest smile of all?
 Alas! What shall I do? Mine heart is failing
 As I behold the light in my sons' eyes!
 Women, I cannot! Farewell, purposes
 All past! I take my children from the land.
 What need to wring their father's heart with ills
 Of these, to gain myself ills twice so many?
 Not I, not I! Ye purposes, farewell!
 Yet—yet—what ails me? Would I earn derision,
 Letting my foes slip from mine hand unpunished?
 I must dare this. Out on my coward mood
 That let words of relenting touch mine heart!
 Children, pass ye within. Now, whoso may not
 Sinless be present at my sacrifice,
 On his head be it: mine hand faltereth not,
 Oh! Oh!

In this lengthy monologue the language itself is charged with greater emotion than is necessary in the case of passages where attention is kept upon the action or circumstances of the plot. Yet it will be readily seen that compared with that of Aeschylus the language is simple. Again it conveys a sense of tender beauty, and the whole passage contains a depth of feeling that it would be hard to rival. The natural order of the words is worthy of notice, a fact that does much to lend reality to the sentiment. Again the tendency to omit the article is noticeable, a device that always seemed to have the effect of bringing the hearers into the desired frame of mind. The passage can scarcely be surpassed for its combination of beauty, simplicity, naturalness and poetic turn of phrase.

With the close of the work of Euripides the day of great tragedy was passed. It lingers into the fourth century with

O heart, mine heart, do not—do not this deed!
Let them be, wretched heart, spare thou my babes!
There dwelling with me shall they gladden thee.
No!—By the nether fiends that dwell with Hades,
Never shall this betide, that I will leave
My children for my foes to trample on!
They needs must die. And, since it needs must be,
Even I will slay them, I, who gave them life.
All this is utter doom:—she shall not 'scape!
Yea, on her head the wreath is; in my robes
The princess-bride is perishing—I know it!
But—for I fare on journey most unhappy,
And shall speed these on yet unhappier—
I would speak to my sons. Give, O my babes,
Give to your mother the right hand to kiss.
O dearest hand, O lips most dear to me,
O form and noble feature of my children,
Blessing be on you—*there!*—For all things here
Your sire hath stolen. Sweet, O sweet embrace!
O children's rose-leaf skin, O balmy breath!
Away, away! Strength faileth me to gaze
On you, but I am overcome of evil.
Now, now, I learn what horrors I intend:
But passion overmastereth sober thought;
And this is cause of direst ills to men.

A. S. Way's translation.

the names of Agatho (fl. 416) and Chacremon (fl. 380), but it did not survive. Perhaps there was sufficient tragedy in real life, from which comedy alone could provide relief. From the point of view of the history of the language tragic drama was a cul-de-sac. In Aeschylus it is as much the culmination of the poetry of the two previous centuries as the beginning of a new era. It does not decline in the hands of Sophocles and Euripides, but its approach to realism brings its language closer to that of comedy and of prose. Such phraseology as is peculiar to tragedy left little mark on the subsequent course of the language. There are occasional echoes but no more. Such a phrase, for example, as νικῶμαι κακοῖς in the passage from the *Medea* quoted above is reminiscent of the closing verse of the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, but the sense of τὸ κακόν is different, and there can be no question of direct imitation. There is no appreciable strictly linguistic development in the language of the tragedians compared with that of the preceding two centuries. It was not a new language that they used; the value of their work lies in the genius that gave originality and life to the language that they found, and the strength of the Greek language is illustrated by the fact that it did not break in the hands of these masters but proved itself on the contrary a worthy instrument of the force that they drove through it.

Comedy took a more permanent hold of Greek life than did tragedy, at least in Athens. It took its rise in the earlier half of the sixth century, as we have seen, when Susario of Megara called it into being at Athens. From the early years of the fifth century onwards we have an increasing number of names, but the work of these dramatists has come down to us only in fragmentary remains. From the point of view of language, as contrasted with that of literature, this is a far more serious loss than in the case of tragedy. It is in comedy at this period that we approach nearest to the language of the man in the street. The phraseology may be poetic, it is at least always metrical, but we have a homely vocabulary and the frequent occurrence of homely phrases taken from everyday life. The comic poets moreover

employed a more homely Attic that was free from the occasional literary Ionicisms of tragedy. Aristophanes, whose work lay between 430 and the opening years of the fourth century, is the only comedian of this period whose work has survived in any quantity, and it is of such a quality as to strengthen our regret for the absence of that of his contemporaries. Homeliness of subject and of vocabulary appear in the following fragments, the first of which is from the *Theria* of Crates (fl. 449):

ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὰ πάντοτε
τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρῶτον ἄξω τοῖς ἑμοῖς
ἐπὶ κιόνων ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ παιωνίου
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὥσθ' ἐκάστω βέυσεται
εἰς τὴν πύελον. ἔρεῖ δὲ θύδωρ 'ἀνέχετε'.
ἔπειτ' ἀλάβαστος εὐθέως ἤξει μύρου
αὐτόματος, ὁ σπύγγος τε καὶ τὰ σάνδαλα.¹

The second is the account of a luscious meal from the *Doulodidaskalos* of Pherecrates (fl. 438):

ὅπως παρασκευάζεται τὸ δεῖπνον εἴπαθ' ἡμῖν.
Β. καὶ δῆθ' ὑπάρχει τέμαχος ἐγ-
χέλειον ἡμῖν, τευθίς, ἀρ-
νειον κρέας, φύσκης τόμος,
ποῦς ἐφθός, ἥπαρ, πλευρόν, ὀρ-
νίθεια πλήθει πολλά, τυ-
ρὸς ἐν μέλιτι, μέρις κρεῶν.²

An example of the burlesque of epic is provided in a fragment of Hermippus (Frag. 432), a contemporary of Aristophanes:

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ἐξ οὗ ναυκληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἶνοπα πόντον,
ὅσσ' ἀγάθ' ἀνθρώποις δεῦρ' ἦγαγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ.
ἐκ μὲν Κυρήνης καυλὸν καὶ δέρμα βόειον·

¹ 'What have you to say to this? I on the contrary will first bring my people hot water into the tank on pillars as in the hospital, so that the water will flow into every person's tub. And it will say "Turn off the tap" of its own accord. And immediately an alabaster ointment-box will appear, and a sponge and sandals.'

² 'Tell us what we have got for dinner.'

B. Well, we have a slice of eel, cuttle-fish, roast lamb, strips of sausage, calves-foot, liver, loin, quantities of game, cheese done in honey, a piece of roast meat.'

ἐκ δ' Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη·
 ἐκ δ' αὖ Ἰταλίας χόνδρον καὶ πλευρά βόεια·
 καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκου ψώραν Λακεδαιμονίοισι·
 καὶ παρὰ Περδίκκου ψεύδη ναυσὶν πάνυ πολλαῖς.
 αἱ δὲ Συράκουσαι σὺς καὶ τυρόν παρέχουσιν.
 καὶ Κερκυραίους ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐξολέσειεν
 ναυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυραῖς, ὅτι ἴδχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.¹

Hermippus, Phormophori.

Space forbids more than two quotations from Aristophanes. Here is part of a conversation between Cleon and the sausage-seller:

- ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ἀκούσασθ' οἷός ἐστιν οὐτοσί πολίτης.
 ΚΛ. οὐκ αὖ μ' ἑάσεις; ΑΛ. μὰ Δί' ἐπεὶ κἀγὼ πονηρός εἰμι.
 ΧΟ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ταύτη γ' ὑπέικη, λέγ' ὅτι κὰκ πονηρῶν.
 ΚΛ. οὐκ αὖ μ' ἑάσεις; ΑΛ. μὰ Δία. ΚΛ. ναὶ μὰ Δία. ΑΛ. μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ.
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ περὶ τοῦ πρότερος εἰπεῖν πρῶτα διαμαχοῦμαι.
 ΚΛ. οἶμοι διαρραγήσομαι. ΑΛ. καὶ μὴ ἐγὼ σὺ παρήσω.
 ΧΟ. πάρες πάρες πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ διαρραγήναι.
 ΚΛ. τῷ καὶ πεποιθὸς ἀξιοῖς ἐμοῦ λέγειν ἕναυτα;
 ΑΛ. ὅπῃ λέγειν οἷός τε κἀγὼ καὶ καρυκοποιεῖν.
 ΚΛ. ἴδου λέγειν. καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν σὺ πρᾶγμα προσπεσόν σοι
 ὠμοσπάρακτον παραλαβὼν μεταχειρίσαιο χρηστῶς.
 ἀλλ' οἷσθ' ὅπερ πεπονημένα δοκεῖς; ὅπερ τὸ πηλῆθος,
 εἰ που δικίδιον εἴπας εὐ κατὰ ξένου μετοίκου,
 τὴν νύκτα θρυλῶν καὶ λαλῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σεαυτῷ
 ὕδωρ τε πίνων κἀπιδεικνὺς τοὺς φίλους τ' ἀνιῶν,
 ζῶν δυνατὸς εἶναι λέγειν. ὦ μῶρε τῆς ἀνοίας.
 ΑΛ. τί δαὶ σὺ πίνων τὴν πόλιν πεπονηκας, ὥστε νυνὶ
 ὑπὸ σοῦ μονωτάτου κατεγλωττισμένην σιωπᾶν;
 ΚΛ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀντέθηκας ἀνθρώπων τίν'; ὅστις εὐθύς
 θύννεια θερμὰ καταφαγών, κἄτ' ἐπιπιὼν ἀκράτου
 οἴνου χοῦ κασαλβάσω τοὺς ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγούς.
 ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ γ' ἥμιστρον βοῶς καὶ κοιλίαν ὑέλαν
 καταβροχθίσας κἄτ' ἐπιπιὼν τὸν ζωμὸν ἀναπνόνιπτος
 λαρυγγίῳ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταραξῶ.

¹ 'Teach me now, ye Muses that dwell in the halls of Olympus, since Dionysus set sail over the wine-dark sea, what good things he has brought hither for men in his dark ship. From Cyrene cabbage and ox hide, from the Hellespont scombers and all sorts of kippers; from Italy spelt and ox sides; and from Sitalces scurvy for the Spartans; and from Perdiccas lies with a great many ships. Syracuse provides pigs and cheese. And may Poseidon engulf the Corcyraeans on their hollow ships, because they have a double heart.'

- XO. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μ' ἤρεσας λέγων· ἐν δ' οὐ προσίεται με,
τῶν πραγμάτων ὅτι μόνος τὸν ζωμὸν ἔκφορήσει.
ΚΛ. ἀλλ' οὐ λάβρακας καταφαγῶν Μιλησίους κλονήσεις.
ΑΛ. ἀλλὰ σχελίδας ἐδηδοκῶς ὀνήσομαι μεταῶλα.
ΚΛ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεσπιδῶν γε τὴν βουλὴν βίᾳ κυκίσω.
ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ κινήσω γέ σου τὸν πρωκτὸν ἀντὶ φύσκης.
ΚΛ. ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἐξέλξω σε τῆς πυγῆς θύραζε κύβδα.
XO. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ κάμει τὰρ', ἦν περ γε τοῦτον ἔλκης.¹

Aristoph. *Knights*, 335-66.

- ¹ 'SA. The sort of citizen he is, I'll first expose to view.
CL. Give *me* precedence. SA. No, by Zeus, for I'm a blackguard too.
CH. And if to that he yield not, add "as all my fathers were."
CL. Give *me* precedence. SA. No, by Zeus. CL. O yes, by Zeus.
SA. I swear
I'll fight you on that very point; you never *shall* be first.
CL. O, I shall burst. SA. You never shall. CH. O let him, let him burst.
CL. How dare you try in speech to vie with *me*? On what rely you?
SA. Why I can speak first-rate, and eke with piquant sauce supply you.
CL. O speak you can! And you're the man, I warrant, who is able
A mangled mess full well to dress, and serve it up to table.
I know your case, the common case; against some alien folk
You had some petty suit to plead, and fairly well you spoke.
For oft you'd conned the speech by night, and in the streets
discussed it,
And, quaffing water, shown it off, and all your friends disgusted.
Now you're an orator, you think. O fool, the senseless thought!
SA. Pray what's the draught which you have quaffed that Athens
you have brought
Tongue-wheedled by yourself alone to sit so mute and still?
CL. Who to compare with *me* will dare? I'll eat my tunny grill,
And quaff thereon a stoup of wine which water shall not touch,
And then with scurrilous abuse the Pylian generals smutch.
SA. I'll eat the paunch of cow and swine, and quaff thereon their
stew,
And rising from the board with hand which water never knew
I'll throttle all the orators, and flutter Nicias too.
CH. With all beside I'm satisfied, but one thing likes me not,
You speak as if you ate alone whatever stew you've got.

The great linguistic value of passages such as the above lies in the fact that they give an insight into the language and vocabulary of everyday life. The prominence given to food and to the names of various dishes in the passages quoted will have been noticed. They are typical passages, chosen more or less at random, certainly not for their vocabulary, so that it will be understood to what an extent the work of the comic poets gives us an insight into things that must have been constantly before people's minds and words frequently on their lips. We could reconstruct, for example, from Aristophanes conversations that might have taken place any day in the Athenian markets. We have everyday vocabulary and everyday construction, and we only lack phonetics. It is possible that the last three lines but one of the passage quoted from the *Knights* illustrate the rise in pitch as the altercation between the speakers proceeds and each desires to emphasise his threats. It may be due to more than accident that we find a rise in pitch on the particle δέ which in each line follows the opening word ἐγώ: ἐγώ δ' . . . ἐγώ δέ . . . ἐγώ δέ. It seems probable that this arrangement came naturally to the dramatist as being realistic, and we may feel sure that quarrelsome Athenians addressed each other with just such a rising pitch. Coarse language, which is of frequent occurrence in comedy, is also of great linguistic value, as obscene or semi-obscene words often belong to the oldest stratum in a language, and their use by the Athenian comic poets becomes a factor of importance in the etymological study of the whole of the Indo-European family.

The following stanzas, spoken by the chorus of Clouds,

- CL. You'll not consume your basse and then Miletus bring to grief.
 SA. But mines I'll purchase when I've first devoured my ribs of beef.
 CL. I'll leap the Council-chamber in, and put them all to rout.
 SA. I'll treat you like a sausage-skin, and twirl your breech about.
 CL. I'll hoist you by your crupper up, and thrust you through the gate, sir.
 CH. If him you thrust, me too you must; you must as sure as fate, sir.'

B. B. Rogers' translation.

will illustrate the heights of lyrical beauty to be found in Aristophanes' comedy in contrast to the homely language of the characters. They are taken from the *Clouds* (275-90 and 299-313):

ἀέναιοι Νεφέλαι
 ἄρθωμεν φανεραὶ δροσεράν φύσιν εὐάγητον,
 πατρός ἀπ' ὤκεανού βαρυαχέος
 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς ἐπὶ
 δενδροκόμους, ἵνα
 τηλεφανεῖς σκοτιάς ἀφορώμεθα,
 καρπούς τ' ἄρδομέναν ἱερὰν χθόνα,
 καὶ ποταμῶν ζωθίων κελαιδήματα,
 καὶ πόντον κελάδοντα βαρύβρομον·
 ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγεῖται
 μαρμαρέαισιν αὐγαῖς.
 ἄλλ' ἄποσεισάμεναι νέφος ὄμβριον
 ἀθανάτας ἰδέας ἐπιδώμεθα
 τηλεσκόπῳ ὄμματι γαίαν.¹

παρθένου ὄμβροφόρου
 ἔλθωμεν λιπαρὰν χθόνα Παλλάδος, εὐανδρον γὰρ
 Κέκροπος ὀψόμεναι πολυήρατον·
 οὐ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα
 μυστοδόκος δόμος
 ἐν τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναδείκνυται,
 οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρηήματα,
 ναοὶ θ' ὑπερεφεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα
 καὶ πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται,
 εὐστέφανοι τε θεῶν θυσίαι θαλίσαι τε,
 παντοδαπαῖσιν ὥραις,
 ἥρι τ' ἐπερχομένῳ Βρομία χάρις,

1

'Clouds of all hue,

Rise we aloft with our garments of dew.
 Come from old Ocean's unchangeable bed,
 Come, till the mountain's green summits we tread,
 Come to the peaks with their landscapes untold,
 Gaze on the earth with her harvests of gold,
 Gaze on the rivers in majesty streaming,
 Gaze on the lordly, invincible Sea,
 Come, for the Eye of the Ether is beaming,
 Come, for all Nature is flashing and free.
 Let us shake off this close-clinging dew
 From our members eternally new,
 And sail upwards the wide world to view.
 Come away! Come away!' B. B. Rogers' translation.

εὐκλαδῶν τε χορῶν ἑρεθίσματα,
καὶ μοῦσα βαρύβρομος αὐλῶν.¹

These passages are as beautiful as any that occur in the extant works of the tragedians. It will be noticed that Doric forms are present, compounds are frequent, and there is a complete absence of the article. Hiatus occurs with shortening of a long vowel or diphthong.

Comedy of the school of Aristophanes held its own till about the year 380, when the great tragic tradition also came to an end. It then gave way to the school known as the Middle Comedy.

We must now return to the closing years of the sixth century and trace briefly the development of prose. One of the earliest known Greek prose writers was Hecataeus of Miletus (fl. 520), who wrote a geography and a history. He was followed by Charon (fl. 504), a citizen of Lampsacus, who wrote a geography. Meanwhile Heraclitus,² the greatest of the Ionian school of philosophers, was writing in prose, of which a few sentences remain, such as:

ψυχῇσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι, ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῇ.

1

'Come then with me,
Daughters of Mist, to the land of the free.
Come to the people whom Pallas hath blest,
Come to the soil where the Mysteries rest;
Come, where the glorified Temple invites
The pure to partake of its mystical rites:
Holy the gifts that are brought to the Gods,
Shrines with festoons and with garlands are crowned,
Pilgrims resort to the sacred abodes,
Gorgeous the festivals all the year round.
And the Bromian rejoicings in Spring,
When the flutes with their deep music ring,
And the sweetly-toned Choruses sing;
Come away! Come away!' B. B. Rogers' translation.

² The first philosopher to write in prose is reputed to have been Pherecydes of Syros, teacher of Pythagoras. Nothing remains of his work, which was entitled *Περὶ φύσεως καὶ περὶ θεῶν*.

or again:

ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνομέν τε καὶ οὐκ ἐμβαίνομεν, εἰμέν τε καὶ οὐκ εἰμεν.

The Ionic locative plural forms are reminiscent of epic.

In the fifth century the tradition of history, or prose story-telling, is carried on by Pherecydes of Leros (fl. 475), Hellanicus of Mytilene (fl. 466) and Herodotus (fl. 443). Herodotus, most famous of all story-tellers, was acquainted with the work of his predecessors and elder contemporaries, and may be considered typical of the *logographi* of the period as well as a master among them. The work of the rest survives only in fragments. Two quotations must suffice to illustrate the part he plays in the development of the language. Here is part of his description of the crocodile:

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε· τοὺς χειμῶνι τῶν μήνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν, ἐὼν δὲ τετράπους χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖόν ἐστι· τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὥα ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπτει καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμῶν ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἑλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεταί· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὥα χηνέων οὐ πολλὰ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ φύου γίνεταί, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεταί καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πῆχεας καὶ μέζων ἐστὶ. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕψος, ὀδοντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ μόνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε. οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μόνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὀνυχος καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἄτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὕδατι βίαιταν ποιεῖμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φορεῖ πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὲ ἄλλα θῆρεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὃ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖόν οἱ ἐστὶ, ἄτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαιν ποιεῖεν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίει τὰς βδέλλας. ὃ δὲ ὠφελεόμενος ἡδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.¹ π. 68.

¹ 'The following is the description of the crocodile. During the four winter months it takes no food, it is a quadruped and amphibious. It lays eggs on land and hatches them there, spending most of the day on dry ground but the whole night in the river, the temperature of the water being warmer than that of the air or the dew. This creature of all known to us grows from the smallest beginnings to the largest size. Its eggs are not much larger than those of a goose, and the young are proportionately small, but when it grows it reaches seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like those of a pig, and large, tusk-like teeth

The Ionic in which Herodotus writes, whose peculiarities, as contrasted with Attic, are easily recognisable in the passage quoted, is a literary dialect, not corresponding precisely with any spoken Ionic dialect of the period. It represents a traditional style doubtless imitated to a certain extent from earlier logographi. It conceivably was originally based on the style of Pherecydes of Syros. As in the case of epic it presupposes a development, though on a much smaller scale, of which we know practically nothing. It had been exposed to Attic influence by the long residence in Athens of one of its chief exponents, Pherecydes of Leros, and to a smaller extent of Herodotus himself. It was not the native dialect of Herodotus, who came from Halicarnassus, a Doric city. It formed a sort of literary κοινή, understood and used by all the Greek states, until from about 300 B.C. and onwards Attic ousted the dialects. Two noticeable points in Herodotus' style, both well illustrated in the passage quoted, are its extreme simplicity and the extensive and expressive employment of particles. Nothing could be simpler or more straightforward than the description of the crocodile. It is like a story told to a child. The abundance of particles and the vitality they impart to the whole passage, varying the sense and emphasis into countless different shades, will be realised by anyone who reads the passage quoted or any other typical section of Herodotus, which can be selected practically at random. This employment of particles and the part they play are characteristic of the Greek language. They are one of its peculiarities, and constitute one of the secrets of its supple-

in proportion to its size. It is the only beast that does not grow a tongue. It is also peculiar in being unable to move its lower jaw, but instead brings its upper jaw down to its lower. It has strong claws and a scaly impenetrable skin on its back. It cannot see when in the water, but when in the air has very sharp sight. In consequence of its living in the water its mouth becomes entirely filled with leeches. All birds and beasts run away from it except the plover, which is on friendly terms with it because it helps it by entering its mouth and devouring the leeches. This happens when the crocodile leaves the water and yawns, which it generally does facing west. It is pleased with the relief afforded and never touches the plover.'

ness. It was with this simple story-telling that, so far as we know, Greek prose began, the poetic medium being thought rightly too lofty to be suitable for the expression of tales intended as much to bring amusement to leisure hours as to excite serious interest in the countries of which they treat.

The following extract will illustrate Herodotus' style when he is dealing with historical events as contrasted with the description of interesting phenomena:

'Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλε ἀναπλέειν ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην· τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νῦν γὰρ ἐπενέμετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἡκιστὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δέ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμίνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅπως κατ' ἡπείρου μὴ ἐσβάλοιν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἴζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδω, Λεωνίδω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκειρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευόμενοι, οἰκοδόμουν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος, ἅτε δὲ ἰσοσέων μυριάδων πολλῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσφερόροντο, καὶ ἔλιυνον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.¹

VIII. 70, 71.

¹ 'When the order came to advance they sailed up to Salamis and lay opposite each other in formation without showing any activity. The time of day did not permit their giving battle, as darkness had come on, but they made preparations for the following day. The state of mind of the Greeks was one of fear and reluctance, especially of those from the Peloponnese. They were reluctant because since they were lying themselves off Salamis they would be fighting at sea to save Athenian land and in the event of defeat they would be caught and blockaded on the island, leaving their own cities unprotected, while the enemy's land force was advancing upon the Peloponnese that very night. Every possible step had of course been taken to prevent an invasion of the enemy by land. As soon as the Peloponnesians learned of the destruction of the force under Leonidas at Thermopylae, they gathered in haste from their cities and took up a position at the Isthmus, Cleombrotus son of Anaxandridas and brother of Leonidas being in command. After taking up their position at the Isthmus and destroying the Scironian road they decided after consultation to build a

The extreme simplicity is not quite maintained. The sentences are longer and put together in a rather straggling manner. There is a distinct difference of style occasioned by the difference of subject-matter. Indeed the style of this passage approaches that of Thucydides and serves to illustrate the fact of a continuous current, at different points of which Herodotus and Thucydides both stood, unmistakably sharing the same tradition. The slight loss of simplicity however has not led to an introduction of the abstract subject or idea. The form of the sentences is concrete throughout and thus in keeping with the whole early Greek mode of literary expression. The passage contains a characteristic example of the use of the compound verb in the phrase *νῦξ ἐπεγέμετο*, illustrating the neatness as well as the vitality and precision of expression of this mode of speech.

About twenty years after the work of Herodotus was completed the activity of Thucydides was at its height. We have seen that his style is akin to that of Herodotus in the strictly historical parts of his narrative. Thucydides himself has two distinct styles, a simpler one employed in narrative and a difficult and complicated one used for the orations that he puts into the mouths of his characters. He was an Athenian and his dialect is Attic, although he retains certain Ionicisms derived from his Ionic literary predecessors, such as the *σ* and *ρ* for Attic *τ* and *π*. Here is a passage of his narrative:

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι ναῦς ἔστειλαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Λάχνητα τὸν Μελανώπου στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ Χαροιάδην τὸν Εὐφιλίτην. οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλους καθέστησαν. ζυμμάχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριναίων αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵ περ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ζυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μὲντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ζυμμάχοι κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ζυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆς τε γῆς εἵργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἐπέμψαν οἱ

wall across the Isthmus. The work was done quickly, as every man was set to work at it and their numbers were immense. Stones, bricks, timber and baskets full of sand were brought to the spot, and those who had offered assistance in the work never ceased working for a moment by day or night.'

Ἰθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε σῖτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀγεσθαι αὐτόθεν πρόπειράν τε ποιοῦμενοι εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἶη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι. καταστάντες οὖν ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ τὼν συμμάχων. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.¹

III. 86.

The concrete form of expression will be noticed. The cities are not spoken of by name but by the name of their inhabitants. There is about the construction of Thucydides' sentences a certain clumsiness which detracts from the pleasure of reading his narrative and makes his speeches difficult to follow. This will be brought out in the following extract from Pericles' oration in honour of those killed in the Peloponnesian War:

Διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξηνηλασίας ἀπεργομένῃ τινι ἢ μοσθήματος ἢ θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολέμιων ἰδὼν ὠφελθῇ, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλέον καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπτόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναιμῶς διαιτῶμενοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοπάλεις κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτοῦς, μεθ' ἀπάντων δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τὴν τε τῶν πέλους αὐτοῖ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τὰ πλεῖα κρατοῦμεν· ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πῶ πολεμῖος ἐνέτυχε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίτευκτον· ἦν δὲ που μορῶν τινὶ προσμείξωσι, κρατήσαντες τε τινὰς ἡμῶν πάντας αὐχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι καὶ νικηθέντες ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσσησθαι. καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμῶς ἀλλοῶν

¹ 'At the close of the summer in the same year Athens sent twenty ships to Sicily under Laches son of Melanopus and Charoiades son of Euphiletus. Syracuse and Leontini were at war. All the Dorian cities, which at the outbreak of war had allied themselves with Sparta, but had not actually taken part in hostilities, were in alliance with Syracuse except Camarina, while the Chalcidian cities and Camarina were in alliance with Leontini. Of the Italian cities Locri was in alliance with Syracuse, and Rhegium with Leontini owing to its ties of race. Accordingly Leontini and her allies sent to Athens and urged her to send ships to their aid pleading their former alliance and the fact that they were Ionians, for they were deprived of access both to land and sea by Syracuse. Athens complied with the request on the pretext of relationship, but really with the object of preventing the export of corn from Sicily to the Peloponnese and of investigating the possibility of bringing affairs in Sicily under her control. Accordingly she gave active support to the alliance making Rhegium in Italy her head-quarters. This brings us to the end of the summer.'

ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκαμνεῖν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθοῦντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.¹

II. 39.

The difficulty of following the sense of Thucydides in such passages as the above is increased by the fact that he puts slightly different, and possibly original, constructions upon words that had been in more or less common use, notably upon compound verbs. Thucydides is still feeling his way towards the formation and stabilisation of an Attic prose style. He has complicated the simple story-telling of Hecataeus, Hellanicus and Herodotus, but has not yet reached the greater symmetry and order that the rhetoricians gave to prose, although in some cases they robbed it of life. Thucydides' work possesses vitality by reason of his enthusiasm for his subject. The pleasure that he gives comes from his matter, not from his language, although for the linguist his long

¹ 'Not only in these respects are we superior to our enemies. We are their betters also in our attitude towards preparedness for war. We allow open access to our city, and never prevent an enemy by deportation from learning or seeing anything from the knowledge of which he might derive any advantage. We rely not so much upon preparation and deception of the enemy as upon our own practical courage. In education they attain courage by a rigorous training begun immediately they cease to be children, and yet our own free habits of life do not make us the less willing to face dangers of equal weight with theirs. This is clear from the fact that the Spartans invade our territory not by themselves but in company with all their allies, whereas we usually obtain the upper hand in attack upon that of our neighbours without difficulty although engaged against those who are defending their hearths and homes. No enemy has yet encountered our full strength because our navy is engaged simultaneously with frequent expeditions of our armies on land. If they come in contact with a section of our forces, they boast if they win that they have put our whole army to flight and if they are beaten that it required our whole strength to defeat them. It remains true however that if we choose to run the risk of living in ease rather than enduring severe training and to turn out brave citizens by force of tradition rather than by compulsion, the result is that though we do not anticipate hardship, yet when we meet it we show ourselves no less capable of enduring it than those who make a practice of undergoing it, and that we find ourselves admired by other peoples in this as well as in other ways.'

sentences are of value and interest as yet another illustration of the adaptability of the Greek language. A noteworthy construction, peculiar among extant writers of this period to Thucydides, is that of the genitive of the article followed by the infinitive to express purpose. This construction appears again in Hellenistic times and occurs in the New Testament. It must have been in use in the interval and it is unlikely that Thucydides originated it. Possibly it was a conversational construction and therefore rejected by the fourth-century writers as prose grew more artificial.

In the middle of the fifth century philosophy had dropped poetry for prose, Empedocles (fl. 444) being one of the last to write in hexameter verse, although in the fourth century philosophers wrote verse again. Anaxagoras (fl. 450), an older contemporary of Herodotus, used a straightforward style in his exposition of his doctrine that *Nous* was the first cause of the universe. He wrote in the same literary Ionic as Herodotus. Here is part of one of the remaining fragments of his work:

καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ ἤρξατο περιχωρεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ πλεον περιχωρεῖ, καὶ περιχωρήσει ἐπὶ πλεον. καὶ τὰ συμμιγόμενά τε καὶ ἀποκρινόμενα καὶ διακρινόμενα πάντα ἔγνω νοῦς. καὶ ὅποια ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὅποια ἦν, ἄσφα νῦν μὴ ἔστι, καὶ ὅποια ἔστι, πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς, καὶ τὴν περιχώρησιν ταύτην ἦν νῦν περιχωρεῖ τὰ τε ἄστρα καὶ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ὁ ἀήρ καὶ ὁ αἰθήρ οἱ ἀποκρινόμενοι. ἡ δὲ περιχώρησις αὕτῃ ἐποίησεν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἀραιοῦ τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ зоφοροῦ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διεροῦ τὸ ξηρόν. μοῖραι δὲ πολλὰ πολλῶν εἰσι.¹

Diels (*Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* I, pp. 404, 405.)

This fragment is chiefly valuable from the linguistic point of view for its demonstration of the growth of a technical

¹ 'At first it began to rotate from a small beginning, it is rotating at a greater rate at the present moment and will continue to rotate at a still greater. All the elements that coalesce, separate and are differentiated are known to Mind. It was Mind that regulated all that was to be and that was, all that now is not and that is, and in the rotation that is now taking place the elements that are separating are the stars, the sun, the moon, the air and the ether. This rotation was the cause of the separation, and the separating elements are thick and thin, heat and cold, light and darkness, wet and dry. But there are many subdivisions of many of them.'

philosophical terminology, the verbs περιχωρεῖν and ἀποκρίνεσθαι being conspicuous in this respect. Of the work of Democritus, who followed Anaxagoras, we have fragments, a few of considerable length, in a not unpleasing style, containing many technical terms, but apart from this we have no example of philosophical prose between Anaxagoras and Plato.

A new departure of importance made in the middle of the fifth century was the work of Hippocrates (fl. 430), contemporary of Aristophanes and Thucydides, who was the first known Greek medical writer. A comparatively large collection of literature has gathered round his name, which is for the most part unauthentic, though parts of it have been the cause of much dispute. There is only space for a single short extract from one of his works which may be considered with certainty as authentic, Περὶ Διαιτῆς:

Πυροὶ ισχυρότεροι κριθῶν καὶ τροφिमώτεροι, διαχωρεύουσι δὲ ἥσσον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ χυλός. ἄρτος δὲ ὁ μὲν συγκομιστὸς ξηραίνει καὶ διαχωρεῖ, ὁ δὲ καθαρὸς τρέφει μὲν μᾶλλον, διαχωρεῖ δὲ ἥσσον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἄρτων ὁ μὲν ζυμῆτης κοῦφος διαχωρεῖ· κοῦφος μὲν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τοῦ ὀξέος τὸ ὑγρὸν προανάλωται, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τροφή· διαχωρεῖ δὲ ὅτι ταχέως πέσσεται. ὁ δὲ ἄζυμος διαχωρεῖται μὲν ἥσσον, τρέφει δὲ μᾶλλον. ὁ δὲ τῷ χυλῷ πεφυρημένος κουφοτάτος, καὶ τρέφει ἱκανῶς, καὶ διαχωρεῖ· τρέφει μὲν ὅτι καθαρός, κοῦφος δέ, ὅτι τῷ κουφοτάτῳ πεφύρηται καὶ ἐζύμηται ὑπὸ τούτου καὶ πεπύρωται· διαχωρεῖ δὲ ὅτι τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ διαχωρητικὸν τοῦ πυροῦ συμμέμικται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἄρτων οἱ μέγιστοι τροφिमώτατοι, ὅτι ἥκιστα ἐκκαίονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός τὸ ὑγρὸν· καὶ οἱ ἱπνίται τροφिमώτεροι τῶν ἐσχαριτῶν καὶ ὀβελιέων, ξιότι ἥσσον ἐκκαίονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός.¹

π. xlii.

¹ 'Wheat is stronger and more nourishing than barley, but both it and its gruel are less laxative. Bread made of it without separating the bran dries and passes; when cleaned from the bran it nourishes more, but is less laxative. Of the various breads themselves the fermented is light and passes. It is light because the moisture is quickly used up owing to the acid of the leaven, and this is the nourishment. It passes, because it is soon digested; but that which is not fermented does not pass so well, but nourishes more. That which is mixed with wheat gruel is lightest, affords good nourishment, and passes. It nourishes because it is made of pure wheat. It is light because it is tempered with what is most light, and is fermented by it and baked. It passes because it is mixed with the sweet and laxative part of the wheat. Of loaves themselves the largest are the most nourishing,

The dialect is similar to that of Herodotus. The use of compounds is prominent here as elsewhere, while simplicity of construction and neatness of expression are apparent. The medical writers naturally developed a technical terminology, which was formed by the employment of compounds, new stem-formations, or by the bestowal of a technical sense upon words whose general sense afterwards fell out of use.

One of the most popular of all Greek prose-writers has been Xenophon, who wrote in the first half of the fourth century. He was the author of a variety of treatises, which are best considered as falling under the head of *belles-lettres*. He produced in separate works what Herodotus might have woven into a single lengthy history, but he covered more ground. He was at one with Thucydides in writing in the Attic dialect though very different from him in point of style. The language of his *Anabasis*¹ is some of the simplest in all Greek literature. Here is a typical piece of narrative from it:

Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῶταίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβούντο μὴ ἐπιθώϊντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμοιοι. διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχίλους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπείχον τῆς χαράδρας ὀκτῶ σταδίοις, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὀπιλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἰρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφευομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατελήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθύς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἰρητο καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ 300ὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτο-

because the moisture of these is least consumed by the fire. Those which are baked in an oven are more nourishing than those which are baked on the hearth or on a spit, because that they are less burnt by the fire.'

W. H. S. Jones' translation.

¹ An account of the expedition of Greeks, in which Xenophon took part, which assisted Cyrus in his attempt to win the throne of Persia in the year 401, and on his death was forced to make its way alone back to the Euxine from the heart of the Persian Empire.

κέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤκισαντο, ὥς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη
ὄρευν.¹ III. iv. 1-5.

No language could be imagined simpler or less ornate than narrative such as this, and yet there is an unmistakeable charm about it that has caught the fancy of all acquainted with the author's works. The touches of humour that make Herodotus so fascinating are absent in Xenophon. The story is completely unvarnished. Its intrinsic charm may be said to belong as much to the Greek language as a whole as to the particular author. It is true that the style is not conversational, but Xenophon when relating these experiences to his friends could have used language very little different from that in which he relates them here. The language is the plainest Greek, and yet the charm is undoubtedly present, a fact that helps us to realise to what a great extent the actual language assisted literary expression.

Xenophon's style is not so simple in his *Memorabilia* or *Memoirs of Socrates*. Here is a passage in which the author summarily refutes the charges brought against his teacher:

¹ 'After remaining still for that day they rose early on the next and set off, it being necessary to cross a gully during the passage of which they feared their enemies would attack them. As soon as they had crossed, Mithridates again appeared with a thousand cavalry and about four thousand archers and slingers. This was the number for which he had asked Tissaphernes, and he had received them on promising that if he obtained them he would hand over the Greeks to him. As in his former attack with a small force he had suffered no harm and supposed he had inflicted severe losses, he regarded them of no account. When the Greeks had crossed the torrent and were about eight furlongs distant from it, Mithridates crossed with his force. Such of the peltasts and hoplites as were necessary had been ordered to pursue them, and the cavalry had been told to pursue them without misgiving as a sufficient force would follow. When Mithridates caught them up, and the slingers and bowmen were coming within range, the Greek bugles were blown with the result that those who had had orders immediately doubled to close quarters and the cavalry charged. Their opponents did not wait for the charge, but fled to the gully. In this pursuit many of the enemy's infantry were killed and about eighteen of their cavalrymen were taken prisoner in the gully. The Greeks mutilated the dead on their own initiative, thinking that the sight would cause the greatest terror to their enemies.'

'Εμοὶ μὲν δὴ Σωκράτης τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐδόκει τιμῆς ἀξίος εἶναι τῇ πόλει μάλλον ἢ θανάτου. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δὲ σκοπῶν ἂν τις τοῦθ' εὐροι. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους, ἂν τις φανερός γένηται κλέπτων ἢ λωποδυτῶν ἢ βαλλαντισιομῶν ἢ τοιχωρυχῶν ἢ ἀνδραποδιζόμενος ἢ ἱεροσυλῶν, τοῦτοις θάνατος ἐστὶν ἡ ζημία· ὢν ἐκεῖνος πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον ἀπείχεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ πόλει γε οὔτε πολέμου κακῶς συμβάντος, οὔτε στάσεως, οὔτε προδοσίας, οὔτε ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενὸς πώποτε αἴτιος ἐγένετο. οὐδὲ μὴν ἴδια γε οὐδένᾳ πώποτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρησεν, οὔτε κακοῖς περιέβαλεν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰτίαν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἔσχε. πῶς οὖν ἂν ἔνοχος εἴη τῇ γραφῇ; ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεούς, ὥς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ γέγραπτο, φανερός ἦν θεραπεύων τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς νέους, ὃ δὴ ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν ἠτιάτο, φανερός ἦν τῶν συνόντων τοὺς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχοντας τοῦτων μὲν παύων, τῆς δὲ καλλίστης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτης ἀρετῆς, ἣ πόλεις τε καὶ οἴκους εὖ οἰκοῦσι, προτρέπων ἐπιθυμεῖν· ταῦτα δὲ πράττων πῶς οὐ μεγάλης ἀξίος ἦν τιμῆς τῇ πόλει;¹

1, 2, 62-4.

This passage, typical of Xenophon, is typical of Greek. Notice the use of the optative with a conditional participle in the second sentence, the preposition ἀντὶ twice followed by the infinitive with the article in the genitive case and an object in the accusative, in the first instance with the negative particle μή. Typical also of the language is the middle ὁ γραψάμενος which exemplifies not only the pure use of the middle voice but the neat combination of article and participle that in this form is confined to Greek and constitutes a definite

¹ 'To my mind Socrates' character was such that he was more deserving of honour at the hands of the city than death. Anyone regarding the matter in accordance with the law would be likely to reach the same conclusion. By law, if anyone is found guilty of theft, larceny, robbery, house-breaking, abduction or sacrilege, he is sentenced to death. But he of all men was as far as possible from committing such things. Moreover he was never responsible for the city's defeat in war, civil disturbance, treason, or any other evil. In private life he never stood in the way of anyone's happiness or involved anyone in evil. He was never even accused of any of these things. How then could one who so far from disbelieving in the gods, as was the accusation brought against him, was known to serve the gods more than any others, who so far from corrupting the morals of the young, as he was charged in the indictment, was known to rid of their evil passions any of those who resorted to him who exhibited them, and to urge them to desire the advancement of that very honourable and wide-renowned virtue which is the foundation of cities and households—how could such a one have been found guilty on this indictment? Surely such practices entitled him to high honour from the state.'

feature of the language. In Latin no neat phrase exists corresponding to the construction of *ἐντί* with the infinitive, and the sense must be expressed by complicated subordinate sentences, while *ὁ γραψάμενος* must be rendered by the matter-of-fact *accusator* or *iste qui accusavit*. In the *Memorabilia* there is possibly a reminiscence of the straggling style of Thucydides. Greek sentences, speaking very generally, tend in prose to become long, though not complicated, a fact that is perhaps due to the very facility with which words and phrases follow each other connected by an abundance of conjunctions and particles that frequently do little more than take the place of punctuation in our own language. This employment of particles, particularly the responsive particles *μέν* and *δέ*, and a partiality for the use of participles which lengthens the sentence, combine to produce the somewhat straggling effect. The characteristic Greek neatness of expression is more manifest in the case of the word or the phrase than of the sentence as a whole in the style of those authors who may be regarded as the typical prose-writers of the language.

The development of the prose of the philosophers will be described in the next chapter, but there is one channel through which the widening current of prose literature flowed that is most conveniently mentioned at this point. This is the prose of the orators, whose work covers the years from about 440 to 320. Though it belongs mainly to the fourth century it arose in the middle of the fifth, and has already been illustrated by the speeches composed by Thucydides for his political characters. The earliest orator was Antipho (fl. 440), a contemporary of Euripides. The following is an extract from his speech *Περὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου Φόνου*:

Καίτοι πρὸς τούτων ἦν τοῦτο. νῦν δὲ πριάμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα, ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν μνηστήν, οὔτε τῆς πόλεως ψηφισαμένης, οὔτε αὐτόχειρα ὄντα τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὃν ἔχρην δεδεμένον αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν, ἢ τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐξεγγυῆσαι, ἢ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδοῦναι καὶ ψήφον περὶ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ καταγνόντες τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀπέκτειναι· ὃ οὐδὲ πόλει ἔξεστιν, ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων λόγων τῶν ἐκείνου τουτουσί κριτὰς ἡξιώσατε γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἔργων αὐτοὶ δικασταὶ ἐγένεσθε. καίτοι οὐδὲ αἱ τοὺς δεσπότης ἀποκτείναντες, ἐὰν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ληθῶσιν, οὐδ' οὕτω θνήσκουσιν

ὅπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ κατὰ νόμιους ὑμετέρους πατέριους. εἴπερ γὰρ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἐξεστί δούλω κατὰ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὸν φόνον, καὶ τῷ δεσπότην, ἂν δοκῇ, ἐπεξελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου, καὶ ἡ ψήφος ἴσον δύναται τῷ δούλῳ ἀποκτείναντι καὶ τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ, εἰκός τοι καὶ ψήφον γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτον ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὅφ' ὑμῶν. ὥστε πολλῶ ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαιοτέρον κρίνοισθε ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν φεύγω ὅφ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως.¹

47, 48.

Those familiar with the work of Demosthenes will recognise an affinity between the above passage and that orator's style, chiefly seen perhaps in the similarity of purpose and subject, for Antipho is very much simpler. We will compare at once a passage from Lysias, considered in antiquity as one of the purest exponents of Attic oratorical prose. His date was nearly thirty years subsequent to that of Antipho. Here is an extract from his first² speech against Alcibiades:

Θαυμάζω δὲ μάλιστα, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ τις ὑμῶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀξιώσει διὰ μὲν τοὺς βοηθοῦντας σώζεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι. ἥς ἄξιον ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι, ἵν' ἐπίστηθε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως αὐτοῦ ἀποψηφίζοισθε ὡς ταῦτα μὲν ἡμαρτηκός, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πολίτου χρηστοῦ γεγενημένου· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων δίκαιως ἂν αὐτοῦ θάνατον καταψηφίζοισθε. προσήκει δ' ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν

¹ 'Yet this would have been in their favour. As it was, having purchased their man, they secretly put the informant to death with their own hands without any decree being made by the state, and although he had not murdered the man. It was their duty to have kept him a prisoner, or given him up on bail to my friends, or handed him over to the State judges that a decision might be made on his case. Instead you yourselves condemned him to death and took his life. It is unlawful even for a country within the empire to condemn anyone to death without Athenian permission. Of that man's words as apart from deeds you allowed these men to be judges, but you yourselves sat in judgment on his deeds. Not even those who put their masters to death, even if they are caught redhanded, are put to death by the relatives, but they are handed over to the magistrates in accordance with the laws of this country. Since it is lawful for a slave to give evidence against a free man in a case of murder, and for a master, if he wishes, to take proceedings on his slave's behalf, and the court is equally competent in the case of one who has put a slave to death as of one who has killed a free man, it was only natural to expect that a case should have been brought against him and that he should not have been put to death by you without judgment being given. Consequently it would be far more just that you should be standing in the dock than that I should be now unjustly prosecuted by you.'

² The second is probably spurious.

εἰδέναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ἀποδέχεσθε λεγόντων τὰς σφετέρους αὐτῶν ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίας, εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ἐὰν ἀποφαίνωσι τοὺς φεύγοντας πολλὰ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἡμαρτηκότας καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν πολλῶν κακῶν αἰτίους γεγενημένους. οὗτος γὰρ παῖς μὲν ὢν παρ' Ἀρχεδήμῳ τῷ γλάμῳ, οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑφηρημένῳ, πολλῶν δρόντων ἔπινεν ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ στρώματι κατακείμενος, ἐκώμαζε δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἀνηβος ἑταίραν ἔχων, μιμούμενος τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους, καὶ ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι πρεσβύτερος ὢν λαμπρὸς γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ νέος ὢν πονηρότατος δόξειεν εἶναι. μετεπέμβθη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀρχεβιάδου, ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερώς ἐξημάρτανε. καίτοι τοῖόν τινα χρὴ αὐτὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν νομίζεσθαι εἶναι, ὅστις κάκεινῳ τοιαύτ' ἐπιτηδεύων διεβέβλητο, ὅς τοὺς ἄλλους ταύτ' ἐδίδασκε;¹ 23-6.

While Antipho's style may be characterised as simple, clarity would perhaps be the most prominent quality of that of Lysias. The Greek fondness for the use of participles is well illustrated in the passage quoted.

Between Lysias and Demosthenes stood Isocrates and Isaeus, the latter representing a style midway between that of Lysias and the more complicated constructions of Demosthenes. We have no space to quote passages from either and

¹ 'I am amazed, gentlemen, that any of you should regard the influential support enjoyed by Alcibiades as sufficient cause for his acquittal, instead of considering that he deserves condemnation for his immoral character. It is right that you should hear an account of this, that you may realise that it would be unfair to acquit on the ground that his conduct in this case was a single lapse in the career of an otherwise worthy citizen. He deserves to be condemned to death for his crimes apart from the present case. It is only right that you should know about them. For since you permit defendants to bring forward their own virtuous behaviour and the benefits bestowed on the state by their ancestors, it is fair that you also listen to plaintiffs if they show that those they are prosecuting have committed many crimes against the state and that their ancestors were responsible for many evils.' When Alcibiades was a boy he used in the presence of many to engage in drinking bouts and indecent behaviour at the house of that old sot Archdemus, who by the way filched a considerable amount of property from you. He revelled in the daytime, went about with a girl before he was grown up, copying his ancestors' ways, and supposing that he could never be famous when he grew old, unless he appeared a scoundrel when young. He was sent for by Archibiades when his behaviour became known. Yet what kind of a character must you suppose a man to possess whose practices were such that he became the subject of charges by the very man who was teaching these practices to others?'

must close the chapter with extracts from Demosthenes, the most popular and well-known of all the Attic orators. Here is one of his best-known passages:

‘Εσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δ’ ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατελήπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ’ οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μετὰξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ’ ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρον’ ἐνεπιμύπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ, αἶμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὁμῆς δ’ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγεμέν’ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ ‘τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;’ παρήει δ’ οὐδεὶς. πολλὰκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατο· οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ’ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιον ἡγεῖσθαι.¹

De Corona, 169-70.

Compare with this narrative a long and complicated sentence from the same oration:

Κἀκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὐσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλικίας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ’ εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιланθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ’ ἄρα δεῖ μ’ εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτά βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοῦς

¹ ‘It was evening when a message reached the prytaneis that Elateia had been taken. Thereupon some immediately rose in the middle of their dinner, turned out the sellers from the booths in the market-place and set the woodwork on fire. Others sent for the generals and summoned the bugler. The whole city was in an uproar. On the next day at dawn the prytaneis summoned the senate, while you went into assembly, and the whole people was seated on the hill waiting for the senate to make a pronouncement and send down a resolution. Thereupon when the senate assembled the prytaneis announced what they had heard and brought in the messenger who told his tale. The herald then asked who wished to speak, but no one came forward. Although the herald kept repeating his question, still no one rose, in spite of the fact that all the generals and all the orators were present and the voice of their country was calling for someone to make suggestions for her protection. For when the herald speaks in accordance with law, we may regard it as the voice of the whole country.’

τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες, οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε τοὺς πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπὶ τῶν βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτ' οὖν ποιοῦντες σοί.¹ *De Corona*, 316-17.

The greater complication, especially of the last passage, as compared with the earlier orators, is easily perceptible, but the balance and symmetry of the sentence is preserved and increased. The piling up of the article is a feature of Demosthenes' sentences and in the passage quoted we find τοῖς τῶν τοὺς . . . and the construction seems to have reached a stage where it passes from neatness to complication. We miss the straggling effect of the style of Thucydides, a suspicion of which we noticed in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon. In the orators all is smoothness and balance because each sentence is polished to the highest possible degree and every phrase is weighed. The style is completely artificial, but it is pleasing and in the earlier and simpler writers very clear. That of Demosthenes produces the same pleasure as the sight of a beautiful and symmetrical edifice. There is no trace in the orators of Ionicisms derived from the earlier Ionic prose, from which Thucydides was not altogether free. The reason is that in the case of the fifth-century orators the speeches were written to be delivered by the client himself in court, and accordingly purity of Attic dialect was necessary. Attic ττ replaces Ionic σσ in words such as θάλαττα, and where there is a difference of form or vocabulary between Attic and Ionic the former² completely prevails.

¹ 'Consider this question: is it more decent and patriotic that for the sake of the services of men of old times, enormous as they were, nay, great beyond expression, the services that are now being rendered to the present age should be treated with ingratitude and vituperation, or that every man who achieves anything in a spirit of loyalty should receive some share of the respect and consideration of his fellow-citizens? If I must deal with that subject, I say that, if my policy and my principles are considered, they will be found to resemble in spirit and purpose those of the venerated names of antiquity. Yours are like those of the men who maligned them: for it is certain that, even in their days, there were men who were always carping at the living and commending the dead—a spiteful vocation, and just like yours.'

C. A. & J. H. Vince's translation.

² Professor A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une Histoire de la Langue Grecque*, p. 165, has a short list of examples.

In the fifth and fourth centuries then we see the transformation of Ionic prose, of whose origin we know practically nothing, into Attic prose which looks forward to the Attic κοινή. Ionic literary prose had already by the time of Herodotus dropped the dual and other redundant forms, which were retained in Attic while it was still a non-literary dialect or so long as its literature was confined to poetry.¹ When prose was established in Attic the process of simplification again began, and this is the history of the third century. The fifth century also gave us in the work of the Attic tragedians some of the greatest drama known to have been produced in the world, but this, perhaps because of its very excellence, worked itself out, leaving only faint echoes in the language of Plato and through him in the subsequent Hellenistic literature. The fifth century was an age of construction, the fourth of fruition, the subsequent period one of assimilation and finally of decline.

¹ In addition certain prose-writers continued to employ the dual in the case of recognised pairs (hands, feet).

Chapter X

GREEK AS A WORLD LANGUAGE. THE NEW TESTAMENT

Two causes combined to bring the Greek language into prominence as one of the great languages of the world used as a κοινή for mutual intelligibility among peoples differing widely in race, custom and speech. The first was of course political. By the conquests of Alexander the Great the Greek culture and language were introduced to a wide area in the eastern Mediterranean, Syria, Palestine and Egypt while their influence spread much further than the regions where they came to be part of the life of the people. The conquest of Greece by the Romans brought Greek culture westwards and opened the way for the influence that Greek thought and literature have exercised upon the civilisations of the west from that day to the present. These great political movements gave Greek its opportunity but they could not have been alone responsible for the far-reaching results. The second great cause that produced them was the intrinsic worth and greatness of the language itself. Its establishment in the east may have been due in the first instance to the personal policy of Alexander, but the fact that such a mind as his shewed the reverence that it did for Greek thought and life is sufficient to illustrate their excellence, and Greek thought is inseparable from the Greek language. Whatever the impetus given to the establishment of the language by Alexander, it could never have maintained itself were it not possessed of power and flexibility sufficient to make it acceptable and accepted by the various races among which it became established. While the influence of the Homeric poems was exercised mostly perhaps upon the Greek mind itself, the fifth-century dramatists, the stories of Herodotus, Attic prose and above all the teachings of the philosophers as gathered up in Plato and Aristotle came quickly to be regarded by the nations that fell under Greek

influence as part of their own heritage. This fact again illustrates the genius of the Greek thinkers and authors. Their work found a response in the human mind wherever it came to be known and studied. Thus the fifth century played an important part in the establishment of Greek as a world language.

The influence that with the exception of that of the New Testament was deeper and more permanent than any other upon the centuries that followed was that of Plato and Aristotle. These great world-thinkers may be said to stand at a watershed in the history of Greek life and of the Greek language. They gathered up the thought of previous thinkers, re-moulded it and passed it on, contributing themselves to the stream of thought more than they found, while Plato exercised great influence upon the vocabulary of the language. Other outstanding points of importance in the development of language are the Septuagint, begun in the middle of the third century B.C., the historians of the second and first centuries who wrote under Roman influence, and above all the New Testament in the second half of the first century A.D. Most valuable of all from the linguist's standpoint are the papyri, that great mass of documents dating from the third century B.C. onwards, discovered during the last forty years and containing besides classical texts illustrations of the everyday speech of the time in the form of letters, accounts, contracts and such-like. At last we have that light upon everyday speech, so greatly needed if we are to get at the heart of the language, partially apparent in the work of Aristophanes and Plato. The orthography of the papyri also helps us to follow the phonetic changes through which the language passed at this period as a result of the great social and political changes in which it was involved. The city of Alexandria in Egypt, founded by the conqueror, became the centre of Greek cultural and literary life until the conquest by the Romans. At this period we find the Greeks had begun to turn deliberately to the study of their own language, a movement that found expression in the works of the various grammarians who appeared first in the third century and continued into Byzantine times. This was the natural result

of the great enlargement of the sphere of the language, it being necessary for those who adopted it to understand something of its history, to be informed of the correct pronunciation and to be given commentaries upon the works of its greatest authors. The system of accents (though not in its present form) first came into use at Alexandria about 200 B.C. for the guidance of foreigners in pronunciation.

The new age may be said to have its roots in Plato, for although his language, so far as phonetics, morphology and syntax are concerned, is still the language of Thucydides and the orators (with whom he is contemporary) his vocabulary looks forward to the new age. His system of dialogues also gives us to a certain extent insight into the conversational language of his time. Here is part of the conversation between Socrates and Theaetetus, as Plato conceives it in his dialogue *Theaetetus*:

ΘΕ. Καὶ πῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες; τέρας γάρ ἂν εἴη ὁ λέγεις.

ΣΩ. Μὴ οὖν ἐγὼ ληρῶ; σκόπει δέ. ἄρα τὸ ὁρᾶν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι λέγεις καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αἰσθῆσιν;

ΘΕ. Ἐγώ γε.

ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ ἰδὼν τι ἐπιστήμων ἐκείνου γέγονεν ὃ εἶδεν κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι λόγον;

ΘΕ. Ναί.

ΣΩ. Τί δέ; μνήμην οὐ λέγεις μέντοι τι;

ΘΕ. Ναί.

ΣΩ. Πότερον οὐδενὸς ἢ τίνος;

ΘΕ. Τινὸς δῆπου.

ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν ὦν ἔμαθε καὶ ὦν ἥσθετο, τοιoutωνί τινων;

ΘΕ. Τί μὴν;

ΣΩ. Ὅ δῃ εἶδῃ τις, μέμνηται που ἐνίοτε;

ΘΕ. Μέμνηται.

ΣΩ. Ἡ καὶ μύσας; ἢ τοῦτο δράσας ἐπελάθετο;

ΘΕ. Ἀλλὰ δεινόν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτό γε φάναι.

ΣΩ. Δεῖ γε μέντοι, εἰ σώσομεν τὸν πρόσθε λόγον· εἰ δὲ μή, οἴχεται.¹

163 D.

¹ *Th.* Impossible, Socrates; and an absurdity.

So. Am I dreaming, then? Think: is not seeing perceiving, and is not sight perception?

Th. True.

So. And if our recent definition holds, every man knows that which he has seen?

Th. Yes.

In such passages of dialogue it is evident that the ordinary conversational machinery for the expression of question and answer is brought into play. It is true that these Platonic dialogues are literature and that their scope and purpose are academic, but it is scarcely possible that the simple yet variable constructions such as those illustrated above are not those in common use in everyday conversation. Stronger affirmatives such as $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon$; doubtless derive from the same source. The conversational sections of the dialogues bring to notice two facts. The one is the prominence of particles in Greek conversation.¹ They are clearly embedded in the structure of this sort of speech. They give the sentences vitality and meaning. They represent what in modern language is usually expressed merely by intonation, a movement of the head, or a shrug of the shoulders. We may be sure that these last were not absent in Greek conversation. Gesture accompanied the use of particles and was a more integral part of speech than ever it is in our own language, perhaps more than it now is in the case of the languages of the Latin peoples. But gesture was reinforced in ancient Greek by this rich and variegated array of particles to such an extent that a perfect balance may be said to have been found in the combination between speech and gesture, both of them true component parts of the art of language.

The second fact arises from the first. It is the unbroken flow of language throughout these conversations formed by

So. And you would admit that there is such a thing as memory?

Th. Yes.

So. And is memory of something or of nothing?

Th. Of something, surely.

So. Of things learned and perceived, that is?

Th. Certainly.

So. Often a man remembers that which he has seen?

Th. True.

So. And if he closed his eyes, would he forget?

Th. Who, Socrates, would dare to say so?

So. But we must say so, if the previous argument is to be maintained.²

B. Jowett's translation.

¹ Particles appear also in the tragedians in a similar way when conversation in single lines (stichomuthia) is carried on between characters.

the connecting particles. In artificial dialogues, such as those of Plato, this may be intentionally increased owing to the fact of the unity of theme that runs throughout, but in actual conversations it must have been present.

Plato's language is further well illustrated by the following extract from the *Republic*:

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνομολογητέον, εἰ δυνατὰ ἢ οὐ, καὶ δοτέον ἀμφισβήτησιν εἴτε τις φιλοπαίσιμων εἴτε σπουδαστικός ἐθέλει ἀμφισβήτησαι, πότερον δυνατὴ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη ἢ θήλεια τῇ τοῦ ἄρρενος γένους κοινωνῆσαι εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα ἢ οὐδ' εἰς ἓν, ἢ εἰς τὰ μὲν οἶα τε, εἰς δὲ τὰ οὐ, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ποτέρων ἐστίν; ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐν κάλλιστας τις ἀρχόμενος ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ κάλλιστα τελευτήσειεν;

Πολύ γε, ἔφη.

Βούλει οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμφισβήτησωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἔρημα τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου λόγου πολιορκῆται;

Οὐδέν, ἔφη, κωλύει.

Λέγωμεν δὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὅτι "Ὡ Σώκρατες τε καὶ Γλαῦκων, οὐδέν δεῖ ὑμῖν ἄλλους ἀμφισβήτην· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κατοικίσεως, ἦν ᾤκίζετε πόλιν, ὠμολογεῖτε δεῖν κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστον ἓνα ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ πράττειν."

ὠμολογήσαμεν οἶμαι· πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

"Ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως οὐ πάμπλου διαφέρει γυνὴ ἀνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν;"

Πῶς δ' οὐ διαφέρει;

"Οὐκοῦν ἄλλο καὶ ἔργον ἑκατέρω προσήκει προστάττειν τὸ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν;"

Τί μὴν;

"Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἀμαρτάνετε νυνὶ καὶ τάναντία ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς λέγετε φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ πράττειν, πλείστον κεχωρισμένην φύσιν ἔχοντας;" ἔξεις τι, ὦ θαυμάσιε, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι;

Ὡς μὲν ἐξαίφνης, ἔφη, οὐ πᾶν ῥάδιον.¹

v. 452 E-453 C.

¹ 'First, then, whether the question is to be put in jest or in earnest, let us ask about the nature of woman: Is she capable of sharing either wholly or partially in the actions of men, or not at all? And is the art of war one of those arts in which she can or cannot share? That will be the best way of commencing the enquiry, and will probably lead to the fairest conclusion.

That will be best.

Suppose that we take the other side and begin to be arguing against ourselves, and so the adversaries' position will be fairly defended.

Why not? He said.

Then let us put a speech into the mouths of our opponents. They will say: "Socrates and Glaucon, no adversary need convict you, for you yourselves, at the first foundation of the State, admitted the principle that every one was to do his own work according to his nature". And certainly, if I am not mistaken, there was such an admission by us. Then he

The normal facility of Greek style is fully borne out in the above passage, and in addition the modern reader cannot fail to be struck by the simplicity of expression.

Modern didactic writers or theologians discoursing on themes such as this would employ a learned terminology with many abstracts. Plato's discussion, no less effective, is couched in the simplest of terms. This lack of sophistication constitutes an essential difference between the ancient Greek language and our own.

In the *Timaeus*, where Plato is dealing with physics, he looks back to the language of his Ionian and Eleatic predecessors:

‘Ἡ δ’ οὖν αὖθις ἀρχὴ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἔστω μεζόνως τῆς πρόσθεν διηρημένη. τότε μὲν γὰρ δύο εἶδη διειλόμεθα, νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος ἡμῖν δηλωτέον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ δύο ἰκανὰ ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λεχθεῖσιν, ἓν μὲν ὡς παραδείγματος εἶδος ὑποτεθέν, νοητὸν καὶ αἰ κατὰ ταῦτά ἐν, μῆμημα δὲ παραδείγματος δεύτερον, γένεσιν ἔχον καὶ ὁρατὸν· τρίτον δὲ τότε μὲν οὐ διειλόμεθα, νομίσαντες τὰ δύο ἔξιν ἰκανῶς, νῦν δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰσαναγκάζειν χαλεπὸν καὶ ἀμυδρὸν εἶδος ἐπιχειρεῖν λόγοις ἐμφανίσαι. τιν’ οὖν ἔχον δύναμιν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὸ ὑποληπτέον; τοιάνδε μάλιστα, πάσης εἶναι γενέσεως ὑποδοχὴν αὐτὴν οἷον τιθήνην.¹

48 E.

will proceed to say: "Is there not the greatest difference between the natures of men and women?" And we shall reply: "Of course, there is". And he will ask: "Whether men and women ought not to have different tasks imposed upon them, such as are agreeable to their different natures?" Certainly they ought. "Have you not then fallen into a great inconsistency in saying that men and women, who are entirely different, ought to perform the same actions?"—What defence will you make for us, my good Sir, against anyone who offers these objections? That is not an easy question to answer when asked suddenly.'

B. Jowett's translation.

¹ 'This new beginning of our discussion of the universe requires a fuller division than the former; for then we made two classes, now a third must be added. The two sufficed for the former discussion: One assumed by us to be a pattern intelligible and always the same; and there was a second, which was only the imitation of the pattern, generated and visible; the third kind we did not distinguish at the time, conceiving that the two would be enough. But now the argument seems to require that we should show forth another kind, which is difficult of explanation and dimly seen. What natural power are we to attribute to this new kind of being? We reply, that it is the receptacle, and in a manner the nurse, of all generations.'

B. Jowett's translation.

While there is here no learned style in the sense that there would be in English if similar subjects were being dealt with, the vocabulary contains certain technical terms such as ἀρχή and εἶδος, which have not the advantage of English scientific or theological terms in being exclusively technical, their technical usage being determined by the context. Such terms form the material for philosophical writing in the centuries subsequent to Plato and reappear in the New Testament. The sentences are long, though by no means complicated, the difficulty in following the sense being not due to the language but to the profundity of the theme.

Less simple again is the style of the following passage from the *Phaedo*, in which we find the word ψυχή given an entirely new meaning by the genius of Plato and made the basis of an idea which remains prevalent at the present day:

‘Ἡ δὲ ψυχή ἄρα τὸ αἰδὲς τὸ εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον οἰχόμενον γενναῖον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ αἰδῆ, εἰς Ἄιδου ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον θεόν, οἱ, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ αὐτίκα καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ ἰτέον, αὕτη δὲ δὴ ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ οὕτω πεφυκυῖα ἀπαλλαττομένη τοῦ σώματος εὐθὺς διασπεφύσεται καὶ ἀπόλλωλεν, ὡς φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ φίλε Κέρβης τε καὶ Σιμμία, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον ὧδ’ ἔχει· ἐάν μὲν καθαρὰ ἀπαλλάττηται, μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος συνεφέλκουσα, ἅτε οὐδὲν κοινωνοῦσα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκοῦσα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσα αὐτὸ καὶ συνθηροισμένη αὐτῇ εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἅτε μελετῶσα αἰε τοῦτο—τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦσα καὶ τῷ ὄντι τεθνάναι μελετῶσα ῥαδίως· ἢ οὐ τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη μελέτη θανάτου;¹

80 D, E.

Here the style is flowing, suggestive of poetry, without being metrical. The straggleness of Thucydides is altogether absent

¹ ‘And are we to suppose that the soul, which is invisible, in passing to the true Hades, which like her is invisible, and pure, and noble, and on her way to the good and wise God, whither, if God will, my soul is also soon to go,—that the soul, I repeat, if this be her nature and origin, is blown away and perishes immediately on quitting the body, as the many say? That can never be, my dear Simmias and Cebes. The truth rather is, that the soul which is pure at departing and draws after her no bodily taint, having never voluntarily had connection with the body, which she is ever avoiding, herself gathered into herself; for such abstraction has been the study of her life. And what does this mean but that she has been a true disciple of philosophy, and has practised how to die cheerfully? Is not philosophy the practice of death?’ B. Jowett’s translation.

in Plato, who resembles the orators with whom he was contemporary, Lysias, Isaeus and Demosthenes, rather than those writers who had not shaken themselves quite free from Ionian influence. The frequent occurrence of compound verbs, even in the short passages quoted, will illustrate the amount of reliance placed by the language upon this neat and convenient form of expression. The emphasis of expression is upon the verb, as in Latin, rather than upon the noun as in English, and often indeed particularly upon the participle. The evenness of the flowing prose style is largely due to this employment of participles.

The phonetics and pronunciation would still be those of Thucydides and Aristophanes. The long vowels η and ω were open and broad, ει and ου, the so-called "spurious diphthongs", were long close ē and ō respectively, the short vowels close, the aspirates stops followed by a puff of breath, the accent represented pitch, the acute a high pitch, the circumflex rising and falling—a phonetic system that was to start breaking up in the course of the next two or three hundred years.

As great as that of Plato was the influence of Aristotle upon posterity, but his importance for the development of the language was very much less. His work being chiefly that of systematising Plato's doctrine, he found his terminology ready to hand and he made little impress upon the language, in contrast to his impress upon thought which of course was tremendous. His terse and difficult style will be illustrated by the following extract from his *Nicomachean Ethics*:

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην περὶ σωφροσύνης λέγωμεν· δοκοῦσι γὰρ τῶν ἀλόγων μερῶν αὐταὶ εἶναι αἱ ἀρεταί. ὅτι μὲν οὖν μεσότης ἐστὶ περὶ ἡδονᾶς ἢ σωφροσύνη, εἴρηται ἡμῖν· ἥττον γὰρ καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐστὶ περὶ τὰς λύπας· ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία φαίνεται. περὶ ποίας οὖν τῶν ἡδονῶν, νῦν ἀφορίσωμεν. διηρήσθωσαν δὴ αἱ ψυχικαὶ καὶ αἱ σωματικαί, ὅσον φιλοτιμία φιλομάθεια· ἕκαστος γὰρ τούτων χαίρει, οὐ φιλητικός ἐστίν, οὐδὲν πάσχοντος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς διανοίας· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἡδονὰς οὔτε σώφρονες οὔτε ἀκόλαστοι λέγονται. ὁμοίως δ' οὐδ' οἱ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας δοῖναι μὴ σωματικαὶ εἰσιν· τοὺς γὰρ φιλομήθους καὶ διηγητικούς καὶ περὶ τῶν τυγχόντων κατατρίβοντας τὰς ἡμέρας ἀδολέσχας, ἀκόλαστους δ' οὐ λέγομεν, οὐδὲ τοὺς λυσιπυμένους ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ φίλοις. περὶ δὲ τὰς σωμα-

272 GREEK AS A WORLD LANGUAGE

τικὰς εἴη ἂν ἡ σωφροσύνη, οὐ πάσας δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτας· οἱ γὰρ χαίροντες τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὀφείας, ὅσον χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ γραφῇ, οὔτε σώφρονες οὔτε ἀκόλαστοι λέγονται· καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι καὶ ὥς δεῖ χαίρειν καὶ τοῦτοις, καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἑλλειψιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀκοήν· τοὺς γὰρ ὑπερβεβλημένως χαίροντας μέλεισιν ἢ ὑποκρίσει οὐβεις ἀκολάστους λέγει, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὥς δεῖ σώφρονας. οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ὁσμὴν, πλὴν κατὰ συμβεβηκός· τοὺς γὰρ χαίροντας μῆλων ἢ ῥόδων ἢ θυμιαμάτων ὁσμαῖς οὐ λέγομεν ἀκολάστους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς μύρων ἢ ὀφείας· χαίρουσι γὰρ τοῦτοις οἱ ἀκόλαστοι, ὅτι διὰ τούτων ἀνάμνησις γίνεται αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων. Ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅταν πεινώσι, χαίροντας ταῖς τῶν βρωμάτων ὁσμαῖς· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτοις χαίρειν ἀκολάστου· τοῦτω γὰρ ἐπιθυμήματα ταῦτα.¹

III, x. 13.

¹ 'We will proceed to consider temperance, as it seems that courage and temperance are the virtues of the irrational parts of human nature.

We have already said that temperance is a mean state in respect of pleasures; for it is not in the same degree or manner concerned with pains. Pleasure is also the sphere in which licentiousness displays itself.

Let us therefore define now the character of these pleasures. We will accept the distinction which is commonly made between bodily and psychical or mental pleasures, such as ambition and the love of learning; for he who is ambitious or fond of learning takes pleasure in the object of which he is fond, although it is not his body which is affected but his mind. But where pleasures of this kind are in question people are not called either temperate or licentious. It is the same with all such other pleasures as are not bodily. Thus people who are fond of talking and of telling stories, and who spend their days in trifling pursuits we call gossips, but we do not call them licentious, nor do we call people licentious who feel pain at the loss of money or friends.

Temperance then will apply to bodily pleasures only, but not to all even of these. For if people take pleasure in gratifications of the sight, e.g. in colours, forms, and painting, they are not called either temperate or licentious. Yet it would seem possible to take a right pleasure or an excessive or insufficient pleasure in these things as well as in others. It is the same with gratifications of the ear. Nobody speaks of such people as take an excessive pleasure in music or acting as licentious, or of people who take a right pleasure as temperate. Nor again do we speak of people who enjoy gratifications of the smell as licentious or temperate, except accidentally. Thus we do not call people licentious if they take pleasure in the smell of apples or roses or incense, but rather if they take pleasure in the smell of unguents and relishes; for it is in these that a licentious person takes pleasure, as they remind him of the objects of his desire. It is true that we may see other people, when they are hungry, taking pleasure in the smell of food; but it is only a licentious person who *habitually* takes pleasure in such things, as they are the objects of his desire.²

J. E. C. Welldon's translation.

No attempt at ornateness is here made. Statements are simply put down almost in the form of notes. As a result there is a heavy strain on some of the words, and sentences have to be considerably longer in translation. The prominence and usefulness of prepositions are well brought out in this style. Participles and compounds are as common as before.

In the middle of the third century at a date that cannot be more exactly determined the Old Testament began to be translated from Hebrew into Greek at Alexandria. The language of the Septuagint has a direct and important bearing upon that of the New Testament. If the Septuagint had little effect upon the language of its contemporaries and immediate successors, being itself a product of the times, there is a sense in which it may be said to have established a linguistic foundation on which the New Testament and subsequent Christian writings were built. The following is the Septuagint version of Isaiah xl. 1-11:

Παρακαλεῖτε παρακαλεῖτε τὸν λαόν μου, λέγει ὁ Θεός. Ἱερεῖς λαλήσατε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Ἱερουσαλήμ, παρακαλέσατε αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐπλήσθη ἡ ταπεινώσις αὐτῆς, λένυται αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὅτι ἐδέξατο ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου διπλᾶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῆς. Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται· καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείαν, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδιά. Καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα Κυρίου, καὶ ὁμῆται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι Κύριος ἐλάλησε. Φωνὴ λέγοντος, Βόησον· καὶ εἶπα, Τί βοήσω; Πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου. Ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε, ὅτι πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπνευσεν εἰς αὐτό· ἀληθῶς χόρτος ὁ λαός. Ἐξηράνθη χόρτος, ἐξέπεσε τὸ ἄνθος, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἐπὶ ὅρος ὑψηλὸν ἀνάβηθι ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Σιών, ὑψώσον τῇ ἰσχύϊ τὴν φωνὴν σου ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Ἱερουσαλήμ· ὑψώσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε· εἰπόν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἰούδα, Ἰδοὺ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν, Ἰδοὺ Κύριος· Κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται, καὶ ὁ βραχίον μετὰ κυρίας· Ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. Ὡς ποιμὴν ποιμαίνει τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ βραχίονι αὐτοῦ συνάξει ἄρνας, ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ βαστάσει, καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσας παρακαλέσει.¹

We will at once compare the Septuagint rendering of the twenty-third^a Psalm:

Κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδὲν με ὑπερῆσει. Εἰς τόπον χλόης ἐκαί με κατεσκηνώσων· ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐξέθρεψέ με. Τὴν ψυχὴν μου

¹ 'Comfort ye, comfort ye. . .'

^a In their own rendering the twenty-second.

ἐπέστρεψεν· ὠδήγησέν με ἐπὶ τριβούς δικαιοσύνης, ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. Ἐάν γὰρ καὶ πορευθῶ ἐν μέσῳ σκιάς θανάτου, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ· ἡ ῥάβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου, αὐταὶ με παρέκάλεσαν. Ἡτοίμασας ἐνώπιόν μου τράπεζαν, ἐξεναντίας τῶν θλιβόντων με· ἐλίπανας ἐν ἑλαίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον ὡς κράτιστον. Καὶ τὸ ἑλεός σου καταδιώχεται με πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου, καὶ τὸ κατοικεῖν με ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου εἰς μακρότητα ἡμερῶν.¹

In making any estimate of the importance of the Septuagint in the development of the Greek language we need to remember that it was a translation, and that many of the ideas and phrases contained in the original were totally foreign to Greek minds. The Hebrew shines through the Septuagint, just as to a less extent it does through our own versions, introducing into English many a conception and mode of expression. Thus ὑψωσον τὴν φωνήν or εἰς μακρότητα ἡμερῶν are Hebrew expressions embodied more or less literally in the Greek. The use of the verb 'to be' with a predicate consisting of the preposition with an accusative appears at this period for the first time. The double παρακαλεῖτε at the opening of Isa. xl is strange in prose, but faithfully represents the Hebrew. The absence of the article in many places where we should expect it in prose reminds us of the tragedians. Certain terms find a fresh connotation derived from the Hebrew of which they are counterpart. Thus in Ps. xxiii. 3 the word ψυχὴ is used as the equivalent of Hebrew *nephesh* and carried into the New Testament with this sense, very different from that in which it was used by Plato. In subsequent Christian writers both senses appear in some confusion. In the passage from Isaiah there occur the forms εἶπα (first singular aorist indicative) and εἶπον (second singular aorist imperative). In the κοινὴ such forms took the place of the older ones, although their growth was naturally gradual. In Comedy the form εἶπας as the second singular indicative had been frequent, and εἶπον as imperative had occurred from time to time.

In the transliteration of Hebrew proper names in the Septuagint the Greek aspirates are used in the case of those unvoiced Hebrew consonants capable of a double pronuncia-

¹ 'The Lord is my shepherd. . .'

tion, when they are used without the daghesh, that is to say, when they represent spirants, the so-called soft pronunciation. Thus Hebrew יָפֶתֶ is represented by Ἰάφεθ, while כְּתִים is represented by Κίτι-οι. It should not however be deduced from this that the Greek aspirates had become spirants (as is the case in modern Greek) by the date of the translation of the Old Testament. They may have been used because they were the nearest Greek equivalents, and since it was considered desirable by the translators in transliterating the names to distinguish between the two forms of the Hebrew consonant where possible, no other means were open than to have recourse to the aspirates. The Hebrew guttural ח was sometimes ignored as in Ἑνώχ (for חֲנוּךְ), sometimes represented by χ as in Χάμ (for חָם). But again it should not be inferred that the sound represented by χ was a weak sound or even at the time a spirant, the principle that guided the translators being probably the conformity of the proper names as far as possible to a Greek¹ appearance.

Before examining the characteristics of Hellenistic Greek as exemplified in the New Testament it would be well to trace briefly the development of the literary language in the three centuries before the Christian era and to glance at the language of everyday life as it appears in the papyri.

At the close of the fourth century the tradition known as the New Comedy began at Athens with the work of Menander (342-291), whose work has reached us in a fragmentary condition. The comedians of this school wrote of social life and manners rather than of politics. The following fragments (Kock, 482, 483) from his *Hypobolimaeus* will illustrate his style as well as the extent to which philosophical speculation had penetrated the thought of the day. The passage appears to be a satire upon it.

Παύσασθε νοῦν λέγοντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ πλεον
ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς τύχης

¹ It will be remembered that Greek found a difficulty in pronouncing two aspirates of the same kind in a single word, and that it deaspirated one of two aspirates in all original stems.

(εἴτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο πνεῦμα θεῖον εἴτε νοῦς)
 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κυβερνῶν ἅπαντα καὶ στρέφον
 καὶ σῶζον, ἢ πρόνοια δ' ἢ θνητὴ καπνὸς
 καὶ φλῆναφος. πείσθητε κοῦ μέμψεσθέ με·
 πάνθ' ὅσα νοοῦμεν ἢ λέγομεν ἢ πράττομεν
 τύχη 'στίν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν ἐπιγεγραμμένοι.
 τύχη κυβερνᾷ πάντα· ταύτην καὶ φρένας
 δεῖ καὶ πρόνοιαν τὴν θεὸν καλεῖν μόνην,
 εἰ μὴ τις ἄλλως δυνάσασιν χαίρει κενοῖς.¹

The importance of this passage lies in the fact that it contains the word πνεῦμα used practically in its New Testament sense, which does not appear before Plato.

The epic dialect of the period is illustrated by the following fragment of Timon of Phlius (fl. 279), a sceptic philosopher, who wrote satiric hexameters, known as σίλλοι, upon the teachings of the various thinkers.

ὥς καὶ ἐγὼν ὀφελον πυκνοῦ νόου ἀντιβολῆσαι
 ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος· δολὴν δ' ὀδῶ ἑξαπατήθην
 πρεσβυγενὴς ἐπέων καὶ ἀμενθήριστος ἀπάσης
 σκεπτοσύνης· ὀπιτῇ γὰρ ἐμὸν νόον εἰρύσαιμι,
 εἰς ἐν ταῦτό τε πᾶν ἀνελύετο· πᾶ δ' ἐὼν αἰεὶ
 πάντῃ ἀνελκόμενον μίαν εἰς φύσιν ἴσταθ' ὁμοῖν.²

Frag. 9 (Paul).

The use of the historic optative of indefinite frequency (ὀπιτῇ . . . εἰρύσαιμι) will be observed, though this may be due to the fact that the epic dialect is used. The use of the optative was decreasing in the third century B.C.

In the third century the city of Syracuse under Hiero II

¹ 'Cease to speak of mind: the mind of man is nothing more than the mind of chance (whether this be a divine effluence or mind), that which controls all things, directs and preserves them; mortal forethought is but vapour and vanity. Listen, and you will see I am right. All we think or say or do is chance, and we do no more than endorse it. Chance controls all things. Chance alone should be called understanding and forethought and is the only god, unless one vainly indulges in empty names.'

² 'Since I who am circumspect ought to have had a share of common sense; but I was deceived by a way of guile, being the firstborn in speech and untroubled with any scepticism. Wherever I directed my mind, all I found dissolved into one and the same element; where existing eternally in every place it moved in its course towards one and the same nature.'

(270-216) produced a considerable literature patronised by the court. It is here that bucolic poetry, whose chief exponents were Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, arose. We give below an extract from the fifteenth Idyll of Theocritus. The dialect is Doric, mixed with frequent Ionic and Attic forms, but how far it was the spoken¹ language of the Sicilian Greeks at the time and how far an artificial literary dialect cannot be exactly determined. In the description of a homely scene such as the following, two women preparing to visit the festival of Adonis, we may imagine the conversation to have been one that might actually have taken place apart from the metrical form in which it was cast, although the scene is laid in Alexandria:

ΓΟΡΓΩ. Μὴ λέγε τὸν τεὸν ἄνδρα, φίλα, Δίνωνα τοιαῦτα,
τῷ μικρῷ παρεόντος· ὄρη, γύναι, ὡς ποθοῦῃ τυ.
θάρσει, Ζωπυρίον, γλυκερὸν τέκος· οὐ λέγει ἀπφῦν.

ΠΡΑΞΙΝΟΑ. αἰσθάνεται τὸ βρέφος, ναὶ τὰν πότνιαν.

ΓΟ. καλὸς ἀπφῦς.

ΠΡ. ἀπφῦς μὲν τῆμος τὰ πρόσαν,—λέγοιμες δὲ πρόσαν θῆν
‘πάππα, νίτρον καὶ φύκος ἀπὸ σκανῶς ἀγοράσδει’—,
ῥηθε φέρων ἑλας ἄμμιν, ἀνὴρ τρισκαιδεκάπηγος.

ΓΟ. χώμὸς ταῦτ’ ἔχει, φθόρος ἀργυρίῳ, Διοκλείδης·
ἑπταδράχμῳς κυνάδας, γραιῶν ἀποτίλματα πηρᾶν,
πέντε πῶκῳς ἑλαβ’ ἔχθες, ἅπαν ῥύπον, ἔργον ἐπ’ ἔργῳ.
ἄλλ’ ἴθι, τῷμπέχονον καὶ τὰν περονατρίδα λάτρευ.
βᾶμες τῷ βασιλῆος ἐς ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ,
θασόμεναι τὸν Ἀδωνιν· ἀκούω χρῆμά καλὸν τι
κοσμεῖν τὰν βασιλίσσαν.

ΠΡ. ἐν ὀλβίῳ ὀλβια πάντα.

ΓΟ. ὦν ἴδεις ὦν εἶπες καὶ ἴδοῖσα τὴν τῷ μὴ ἴδόντι·
ἔρπειν ὥρα κ’ εἴη.

ΠΡ. ἀεργοῖς αἰὲν ἑορτά.² *Id. xv. 11-26.*

¹ It is clear that various Doric dialects could still be distinguished at the period. See Theocritus, *Idyll* xv, l. 92: Πελοποννασιεὶ λαλεῦμεν.

² ‘Go. My dear, don’t talk so harshly of your Dinon
Before the baby. How he’s staring at you!
Lullaby little Zopyros, honey-pet—
It’s not your daddy that she’s speaking of.

Pr. O, by our Lady, the child understands.

Go. Pretty daddy!

Pr. Yes, that pretty fellow

The other day—I said to him—the other day—

“Dad, please buy mother here some soap and rouge,”

278 GREEK AS A WORLD LANGUAGE

With the close of the work of these bucolic poets¹ about 200 B.C. the great ages of Greek poetry came to an end. About this date Apollonius Rhodius published his *Argonautica*, an epic, whose artificial style and dialect throw little light upon the development of the language, while various poets continued to publish epic or lyric poems during the Alexandrian age. The inspiration passed to Rome, and we find the New Comedy living on in the works of Plautus and Terence, and the work of Theocritus and Apollonius successfully imitated at a later date by Vergil himself. Henceforward the history of Greek is mainly the history of prose² and of the language of the papyri.

The Doric cities of Syracuse resisted the oncoming of the Attic κοινή during the third century. The writings of Archimedes (fl. 250), one of the greatest mathematical geniuses that the world has seen, are not in the Attic dialect. The following passage, which opens his *Arenarius*, will illustrate his language and style:

Οἴονται τινες, Βασιλεῦ Γέλων, τοῦ ψάμμου τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπειρον εἶμεν τῷ πλήθει. λέγω δὲ, οὐ μόνον τοῦ περὶ Συρακοῦσας τε καὶ τὰν ἄλλαν Σικελίαν

And, would you credit it? the great, big boob
Came back and handed me a packet of salt.

Go. O, men are all the same, my Diocleidas
Simply flings money away. He paid seven shillings,
Just yesterday, for what's nothing but dog's combings,
Five fleeces, he said! the shreds of old bags,
All utter trash—O, trouble upon trouble—
But come now and put on your cloak and gown,
We're going to pay a visit to the King,
The mighty Ptolemaios, with a peep
At the *Adonis*. I've been told the Queen
Is doing things most gorgeously this year.

Pr. Fine folks can do fine things.

Go. And those who see them
Have something that's worth talking of to those
Who didn't go and see. Come on, it's time
We made a start.

Pr. All days are holidays
For people with no work to do. . . .

J. Lindsay's translation.

¹ The anonymous lament for Bion was written about 90 B.C.

² Apart from the Anthology, the Anacreontea and certain later writers, such as Babrius and Nonnus.

ὑπάρχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν τάντε οἰκημένων καὶ τὸν δοίκτην. ἐντὶ τινες δὲ οἱ αὐτὸν ἀπειρον μὲν εἶμεν οὐχ' ὑπολαμβάνοντι· μηδὲνα μὲντοι ταλικοῦτον κατωνομασμένον ὑπάρχειν, ὅστις ὑπερβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ οὕτως δοξάζοντες δηλοῦν ὥς, εἰ νοήσαιεν ἐκ τοῦ ψάμμου ταλικοῦτον ὄγκον συγκείμενον εἶμεν ἄλικος ὁ πᾶς γὰρ ὄγκος, ἀναπεπληρωμένων ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν τε πελαγέων πάντων καὶ τῶν κοίλωμάτων τᾶς γὰρ ἴσον ὕψος τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις τῶν ὀρέων, πολλαπλασίως μὲν ἡγῶντο μηδ' ἐν ἀκαρεῖ ἔμμεναι ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειρασοῦμαι τοῦτο δεικνύειν δι' ἀποδείξεων γεωμετρικῶν αἷς παρακολουθήσεις, ὅτι τῶν ὕψ' ἁμῶν κατωνομασμένων ἀριθμῶν καὶ ἐνδεομένων ἐν τοῖς ποτὶ Ζεύσιππον γεγραμμένοις ὑπερβάλλοντι τινες οὐ μόνον τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ψάμμου τοῦ μέγεθος ἔχοντος ἴσον τῷ γὰρ πεπληρωμένῳ, καθάπερ εἵπαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ μέγεθος ἴσον ἔχοντος τῷ κόσμῳ.¹

This passage illustrates the advance of the Attic κοινή upon the dialects. Doric α occurs in place of Attic η and the third person plural terminations in -οντι, etc., are Doric. Other non-Attic forms are εἶμεν, ἔμμεναι and ποτὶ. The tradition and style however are those of the Attic philosophical writers, and there is a suggestion of Aristotle. The use of the optative with εἰ is still continued. The general simplicity of the language even when dealing with complicated themes is brought out in this passage. Considerable similarity of vocabulary to the New Testament will be noticed.

A sign of the changed times is seen in the fact that in the middle of the second century B.C. we find Polybius writing in Greek a history of Rome. Though a native of the Peloponnese he writes in the Attic κοινή, a fact that well illustrates

¹ 'There are some who suppose, King Gelon, that the number of grains of sand is immeasurable in quantity—I refer, not only to that which lies on the shore near Syracuse and the coast of Sicily but in every country whether inhabited or uninhabitable. Others do not suppose the number to be immeasurable, but believe that no number could be named that surpasses it. It is obvious that if those who hold this view were to imagine a compact mass of sand equal in bulk to the bulk of the earth and filling all the oceans and hollow basins of the earth to a height equal to that of the highest mountains, they would be more strongly of opinion that it would be impossible to name a number surpassing the number of grains. I shall however endeavour to prove by geometrical demonstrations for you to follow, that certain numbers that I have named and embodied in my correspondence with Zeuxippus surpass not only the number of grains of sand of equal mass with the earth and filling it in the manner indicated, but also the number of grains having a mass equal to that of the universe.'

the advancing linguistic unity of Greece. The following is an extract from his account of the character of Hannibal:

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων διάθεσις εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἡμᾶς ἤχε περὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου φύσεως, ἀπαιτεῖν ὁ καιρὸς δοκεῖ μοι τὰς μάλιστα διαπορουμένας ἰδιότητας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαι. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ὤμον αὐτὸν οἶονταί γεγονέναι καθ' ὑπερβολήν, τινὲς δὲ φιλάργυρον. τὸ δ' ὀληθὲς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ἀναστρεφόμενων οὐ ῥᾶδιον. ἐνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἐλέγχεσθαι φασὶ τὰς φύσεις ὑπὸ τῶν περιστάσεων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καταφανεῖς γίνεσθαι, κἂν ὅλως τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀναστέλλωνται, τοὺς δὲ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις. ἐμοὶ δ' ἐμπαλιν οὐχ ὕγιες εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ λεγόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγα μοι φαίνονται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα, ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν φίλων παραθέσεις, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ποικιλίας, ἀνθρωποὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀναγκάζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ἐπὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπιστήσας. τίς γὰρ Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον οὐχ ἰστόρηκε διότι δόξας ὠμότατος εἶναι κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐπιβολὰς καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς δυναστείας, μετὰ ταῦτα νομίσας βεβαίως ἐνδεδέσθαι τὴν Σικελιωτῶν ἀρχὴν πάντων ἡμερώτατος δοκεῖ γεγονέναι καὶ πρῶτατος;¹

Polybius, ix. 22. 7-23. 2.

Those who are familiar with the Greek New Testament will recognise that Polybius stands much nearer to it than he does to Thucydides or to Plato. The style is clearly based on the Attic traditions. Certain general characteristics of Greek prose are clearly visible, such as the use of compounds and of prepositional phrases, the preference for the verb over the

¹ 'The course of events has now led us to enquire into the character of Hannibal, and the present point seems to demand an account of those of his characteristics which have been most the subject of dispute. He has been regarded as extremely cruel, or again as grasping. It is not easy to discover the true facts about him any more than about any whose lives are spent in public activities. Some hold the view that a man's character is brought out by circumstances, and that some men appear in their true light when in a position of authority, although in the past they may have suppressed their real selves, while misfortune has the same effect upon others. In my own opinion this view is unsound, for I have known several cases, indeed a large number, when men have been brought to speak and act contrary to their own inclination owing to the advice of their friends or to the complexity of circumstances. Attention to past instances will make this clear. Everyone has recorded that Agathocles tyrant of Sicily gained a reputation for extreme cruelty at the beginning of his advance to power and during the establishment of his tyranny, but when he considered that his power was firmly established in Sicily he appears to have behaved as the kindest and mildest of men.'

noun as compared with modern usage, and the simplicity of expression. An example of both the last-mentioned traits is found in the phrase *καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν*, which would most naturally be translated into English by 'speech and action'. The use of the word *ἄνθρωποι* in the sense of French *on* is Hellenistic rather than Attic, but the optative as in Attic still occurs even in a short quotation taken almost at random as the above. The writings of Luke are in a direct line of descent from those of Polybius.

By way of contrast to the homely language of the papyri and of most of the New Testament we find the style and traditions of the Attic orators carried on by such historians as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (fl. 30) and Diodorus Siculus (fl. 8) in the first century B.C. As regards grammar they of course show Hellenistic traits, chiefly in the matter of the dropping of the optative, but their style, in which they are very similar to each other, has a cultured charm and grace, for parallels to which we must go back to the orators. We will compare extracts from each:

"Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συλλαβὼν τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς δόλιγης¹ τοὺς πράγμασι δηλώσεως δέον· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς συλλήψεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱστορίας ἀξίον εἶναι νομίσας ἔκρινα μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὰς ἱστορίας οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἔστιν εἰς ἀφέλειαν τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν πραχθέντων ἀκούσαι, ἀπαιτεῖ δ' ἕκαστος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἱστορῆσαι τῶν γινομένων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πράξεων καὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν πραξάντων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου συγκυρήσαστα, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀνήκοος γενέσθαι τῶν πεφυκότων τοῖς πράγμασι παρακολουθεῖν· τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς καὶ πάντῃ ἀναγκαίαν ὑπάρχουσαν ὁρῶν τὴν τούτων μάθησιν, ἵνα παραδείγμασιν ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα χρῆσθαι. ἦν δ' ὁ τρόπος τῆς συλλήψεως τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ὃν ἐξεῦρεν ὁ ὕπατος, τοιάδε. τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς ἀκμαιστάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν λάβωσι τὸ σύνθημα, μετὰ τῶν πιστοτάτων φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν τοὺς ἐρμηνεὺς τῆς πόλεως καταλαβέσθαι τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες· τοῖς θ' ἱππεῦσι προεῖπεν ἂν τοῖς ἐπιτηδευστάταις τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκῶν περιμένειν ἔχουσι ξίφη καὶ ποιεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς κελεύῃ.¹

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman History*, v. 56. 1, 2.

¹ 'It might be supposed sufficient to state in summary fashion that he arrested those who had taken part in the secret conspiracy and put them to death, only a short account of the events being necessary.

The following are the opening words of Diodorus Siculus' history:

Τοῖς τὰς κοινὰς ἱστορίας πραγματευσαμένοις μεγάλας χάριτας ἀπονέμειν δίκαιον πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις ὠφελεῖσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν· ἀκίνδυνον γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰσηγησάμενοι, καλλίστην ἐμπειρίαν διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης περιποιούσι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἐκάστου μᾶθσις μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ποιεῖ τῶν χρησίμων ἕκαστα διαγινώσκειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἡρώων ὁ πολυπειρότατος μετὰ μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄσπετα καὶ νόον ἔγνω· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας περιγινόμενη σύνεσις τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀποτευγμάτων τε καὶ κατορθωμάτων ἀπείρατον κακῶν ἔχει τὴν διδασκαλίαν. ἔπειτα πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μετέχοντας μὲν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγγενείας, τόποις δὲ καὶ χρόνοις διεστηκότας, ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἀγαγεῖν, ὥστερτινές ὑπουργοὶ τῆς θεῆας προνοίας γενηθέντες. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τὴν τῶν ὁρωμένων ἄστρον διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις εἰς κοινὴν ἀναλογίαν συνθεῖσα κυκλοῖ συνεχῶς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις ἐκ τῆς πεπωμένης μερίζουσα, οἱ τε τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις καθάπερ μίᾳ πόλεως ἀναγράφαντες ἓνα λόγον καὶ κοινὸν χρηματιστήριον τῶν συντετελεσμένων ἀπέδειξαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πραγματείας.¹ I. 1.

My own view is however that the manner of their arrest is worth describing, and I have decided not to omit it. I consider that readers of history are placed at a disadvantage by hearing only of the conclusion of events. Every reader desires to be told the causes of what takes place, and the circumstances of any given action, the intentions of the actors, and the interferences of chance, while he does not wish that the concomitant circumstances should be omitted. I realise that the study of the past is essential to those engaged in political life, because it provides them with precedents to follow in the situation that confronts them. The manner of the conspirators' arrest, devised by the consul, was as follows: assembled the most notable members of the Senate and ordered them, when they received the word, in company with trustworthy friends and relatives to seize the strongest positions in the city in the districts where they each happened to live; and he told the cavalry to take up a position armed in the most convenient buildings round the forum and to await orders.²

¹ 'General historians ought to be universally regarded with gratitude, because their ambition is to benefit the public by their labours. The study of what is beneficial is rendered by them free from risk, since they provide their readers by their study with a most valuable experience. The acquiring of knowledge by experience is a method of discovering the best course that is attended by much danger and difficulty to the individual. This is why the most experienced of heroes passed through great misfortunes "beholding the cities of many men and knowing their intent". But the realisation of the failures and successes of those of another generation that is acquired from reading history is a method of learning

Very different from the cultured and learned style of these two historians is that of Strabo the geographer (fl. A.D. 24), whose work to some extent recalls that of Herodotus. As Strabo had no high opinion of Herodotus' work any similarity of style that may exist can scarcely be due to conscious imitation. His treatment of his theme is somewhat the same as that of Herodotus, for he is in fact a λογογράφος, his simple style indicating that he intended his book to be read by the general public. The following is an extract from his account of Egypt:

'Ερατοσθένης μὲν οὖν οὕτως. δεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεόν εἰπεῖν καὶ πρῶτον τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν γνωριμωτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς προΐωμεν. κοινὰ μὲν γάρ τινα καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τῇ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ὁ Νεῖλος παρασκευάζει, ποτίζων τε αὐτὰς κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις καὶ τοῦτ' οἰκήσιμον αὐτῶν τὸ μέρος ἀπολείπων μόνον τὸ καλυπτόμενον ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι, τὸ δ' ὑπερδέξιον καὶ μετεωρότερον τοῦ ρεύματος πᾶν, ἀοίκητον διεξίων ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἔρημον διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνυδρίαν. ἄλλὰ τὴν μὲν Αἰθιοπίαν οὕτε πᾶσαν διέξεισιν ὁ Νεῖλος οὕτε μόνος οὗτ' ἐπ' εὐθείας οὗτ' οἰκουμένην καλῶς· τὴν δὲ Αἴγυπτον καὶ μόνος καὶ πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ καταράκτου ὑπὲρ Συήνης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀρξάμενος, ὅπῃ εἰσὶν ὁδοὶ τῆς Αἴγυπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ἕως τῶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐκβολῶν, καὶ μὴν οἱ γε Αἰθιοπεῖς τὸ πλεόν νομαδικῶς ζῶσι, καὶ ἀπὸρος διὰ τε τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀέρων ἀσυνμετρίαν καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἔκτοπισμόν, τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἅπαντα τάναντία συμβέβηκε· καὶ γὰρ πολιτικῶς καὶ ἡμέρως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ζῶσι καὶ ἐν γνωρίμοις Ἰδρυνται τόποις, ὥστε καὶ αἱ διατάξεις αὐτῶν μνημονεύονται· καὶ ἔπαινονταί γε δοκοῦντες ἀξίως χρῆσασθαι τῇ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ, μερίσαντές τε εὐ καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες.¹

xvii. 3.

that is free from such troubles. In the second place historians desire to bring under one and the same connecting framework the whole human race, which, though bound by ties of mutual kinship, is separated in place and time, and in this they resemble those who attend upon divine providence. Providence by connecting the movements of the visible stars with the characters of men in corresponding proportions embraces all time in its scope, and appoints to each class of men what is allotted to it by destiny. In the same way those who describe the course of events in the whole world, as one might the events in a single state, provide as the result of their study a unified and authoritative account of the past accessible to all.'

¹ 'Such are the remarks of Eratosthenes. A fuller account is needed, and I shall begin with an account of Egypt, so that we may advance in order starting with what is best known. A link between Egypt and neighbouring countries, especially Ethiopia that lies south of it, is provided by the Nile, which waters them at the time of its rise. Only that part of those countries which is covered by its inundations remains habi-

As we have seen, a fact of extreme value for our knowledge of the language at this period from the purely linguistic point of view is that in the Egyptian papyri we have abundant records of the conversational language of the time. The papyri cover a period of about a thousand years from the third century B.C. to the seventh or eighth A.D., though those dating from Roman and Byzantine times are much more frequent than those which belong to the Hellenistic period. In a letter¹ from the third century B.C. we find the spellings ἐγ² βουκόλων and ἀζμένως, showing the assimilation of the unvoiced stop and sibilant to a voiced consonant or nasal that follows, and thus letting us in at once to certain secrets of pronunciation that the literary texts with their correct orthography had kept sealed. Here is part of a letter found near Thebes in Egypt and dating from 95 B.C. After the name of the sender (Petesuchus) and the names of the addressees in the dative case comes the formula of greeting, χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, and the letter continues:

ἐρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ Ἑσθλῦτις καὶ Πατοῦς καὶ Ἀλμῆνης καὶ Φίβις καὶ Ἰννοσίρις καὶ Φάφης καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πάντες. μὴ λυπεῖσθε ἐπὶ τοῖς χωρῖσ-
θεῖσι. ὑπελαμβάνουσιν φονευθῆσεσθαι. οὐθὲν ἡμῖν κακὸν ἐποίησεν ἀλλ'
ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιμενέληται, περὶ δὴν, ἐάν αἰρήτε, γράψατέ μοι. ἡκού-
σαμεν τὸν μῦν καταβεβρωκέναι τὸν σπύρον. καλῶς ἡμῖν ὤδε, ἥ ἐν Διοσπύλῃ
ἐάν αἰρήσθε, πυρὸν ἀγοράσαι ἤκατε. τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαρίζοισθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπι-

table. Its course lies through higher ground and through all the country that rises above it on either side, but this is uninhabited and desert from lack of water. The Nile does not flow through the whole of Ethiopia, nor is it the only river there. Its course is not straight and the country it flows through is half desert. But it is the only river in Egypt and it flows through the whole country, its course being straight from the small cataract above Syene beginning at Elephantine, which is the frontier of Egypt and Ethiopia, as far as its mouth. Most of the Ethiopians live a nomadic life, making a livelihood with difficulty because of the barrenness of their country, the unsettled weather, and their distance from civilisation. Quite the opposite is the case with Egypt. They have been civilised and law-abiding from the first, and their country is well known so that their history is recorded. The reputed worthy use they make of their country's fortunate position is approved by other nations. They have divided up their land sensibly and look after it well.'

¹ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series II, no. 14, p. 27.

² This form occurs often in inscriptions before this date.

μελόμενοι ἰν' ὑγιαίνητε. ἔρρωται ὦρος καὶ Πετοσίρις. ἔρρωσθε. (ἐτους) ἰθ' Παχῶν η'.¹

The simplification of the verb system is visible from this letter. The third person plural of the aorist, as seen in the form ὑπελαμβάνουσιν, has assumed the termination -σαν, on the analogy of the sigmatic aorists, in order to distinguish it from the first person singular, and the imperative of ἦκω is spelt with an α (ἦκατε), suggesting its confusion with an aorist formation. Apart from these strange forms the letter is readily understandable—although the allusions cannot be recognised—to anyone familiar with classical or Hellenistic literature. The use of prepositions and of compound verbs remains as much a feature of the everyday language as of the literary.

The following letter, found at Oxyrhynchus, dating from the first century A.D., illustrates the phonetic changes that had taken place:

Ἡρακλῆιδης Ἀσκλατῇ χ(αίρειν). δὸς τῷ κοιμίζοντι σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν λαογραφίαν Μνησιθέου καὶ τὸ ναύριον, καὶ πέμψον ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν βιβλίων ἢ ἐξήρτισας. ἔρρω(σο) (ἐτους) α', μηνὸς Φαμε(νώθ) κη'.²

The spellings κοιμίζοντι and ἡμῖν show the coalescing of ει and ι. The occurrence of ο for ω in the word βιβλίον makes it probable that in Egypt the pitch accent had already given place to stress, the last syllable tending to be shortened after the stress accent on the penultimate. The frequent use of the verb ἀρτίζω and its compounds in the New Testament will be remembered.

¹ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series II, no. 36, p. 61: 'I am well, and so are Esthlytis and Patous and Almenes and Phibis and Psenosiris and Phaphis and all those with us. Do not grieve over the departed. They expected to be killed. He has not done us any harm but has used our difficulties to assist us(?) On this subject, write to me, if you like. We hear that mice have eaten up the crop. Please come here to us, or, if you prefer, to Diospolis to buy wheat. May the other matters go well. Look after yourselves and keep well. Horus and Petosiris are well. Good-bye'.

² B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, no. 296, p. 297: 'Heraclides to Asclatas greeting. Give the bearer of this letter Mnesitheus' poll tax and the naubion, and let us know about the books how you have finished them. Good-bye. First year, 28th Phamenoth'.

A letter dating from late in the first century A.D. contains greetings in language familiar in the New Testament:

Ἰνδικῇ Θεαισοῦτι, τῇ κυρίᾳ χαίρειν. Ἐπεμνά σοι διὰ τοῦ καμηλείτου Ταυρείνου, τὸ πανάριον, περὶ οὗ καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀντιφωνήσασά μοι ὅτι ἐκομίσου. ἀσπάζου Θεῶνα τὸν κύριον καὶ Νικόβουλον καὶ Διόσκορον καὶ Θεῶνα καὶ Ἑρμοκλῆν τοὺς ἀβασκάντους. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λογγεῖνος. Ἑρρω(σο).¹

The prominence of the word κομίζω in these letters forms another link with the language of the New Testament.

The New Testament itself was linguistically the product of its age. At least four distinct streams of linguistic tradition are represented in it. Perhaps the most prominent is that derived from the Septuagint. Apart from the Septuagint the New Testament must have been largely unintelligible. It appears as the conscious and deliberate continuation of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which to the majority of those who read the New Testament were understandable only in the Septuagint translation. One great difference however is at once apparent between the Greek Old and the Greek New Testament. While the former is a translation, full of Hebrew idiom as of Hebrew thought, the latter is essentially Greek in expression. Hebraisms occur in cases of quotation or of direct reference to the Septuagint, and occasionally Semitic modes of expression are found elsewhere. One of the longest passages having this Semitic flavour is Luke's narrative of the birth of Christ (Luke i. 5-ii. 38). Take for example the following verses (i. 39 ff.):

Ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριάμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ζαχαρίου καὶ ἡσπάσατο τὴν Ἐλισάβετ. καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῆς Μαρίας ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, ἐσκίρτησεν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπλήσθη Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, καὶ ἀνεφώνησεν κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εἶπεν Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ κῆρπος τῆς κοιλίας σου. καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ; Ἰδοὺ γὰρ

¹ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, no. 300, p. 301: 'Indike to Thaisous greeting. I sent you the bread-basket by Taurinus the camel man; please send me an answer that you have received it. Salute my friend Theon and Nicobulus, and Dioscorus and Theon and Hermocles, who have my best wishes. Longinus salutes you. Good-bye'.

ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ σου εἰς τὰ ὠτά μου, ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλίασει τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ μου. καὶ μακαρία ἡ πιστεύσασα ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ Κυρίου.¹

The Magnificat immediately follows. In this passage we are back in the atmosphere of the Septuagint. Eastern thought and eastern imagery have coloured the language. There is sufficient similarity of style to the rest of the Gospel to show unity of authorship, but there is also a great difference, probably² to be accounted for by the fact that the writer heard the story that he has here related from those who thought and spoke in Aramaic. A great deal of the vocabulary is also tinged with Hebrew meaning imparted to it by its use in the Septuagint in correspondence with Hebrew terms. A prominent example is the use of the word ψυχή, which is used in the New Testament not in the sense bestowed on it by Plato, but as the equivalent of the Hebrew *nephesh*. This clearly appears in a passage such as:

ὁ εὐρών τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἑμοῦ εὐρήσει αὐτήν. Matt. x. 39.

On the other hand there may be an echo of the Platonic sense in the following passage:

καὶ μὴ φοβείσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνει· φοβείσθε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γέννῃ. Matt. x. 28.

Both senses survived and to some extent became confused together in Christian thought, while in general it may be said the Platonic sense prevailed.

The second of the currents represented in the New Testament is the style and tradition of the historians, notably perhaps that of Polybius. It appears in the writings of Luke,³ that is to say in the third Gospel and the Acts. The preface to

¹ 'And Mary arose in those days. . . .'

² For a full discussion of this see J. G. Machin, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, pp. 44 ff.

³ Hippocrates and the medical writers find an echo in the writings of Luke who uses several technical medical terms.

the Gospel is indeed worthy of Dionysius of Halicarnassus or Diodorus Siculus. It is perfect Greek of the period:

Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληρο-
φορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, ἔδοξε καὶ μοι παρηκολουθηκῶτι
ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ἵνα ἐπιγινῶς
περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Luke i. 1-4.

Here is the flowing period with its accompanying charm, and the compounds familiar at every stage of the language. A sign of the period is the use of the subjunctive (ἐπιγινῶς) following the final conjunction, where classical writers would be expected to have employed the optative.¹ An appreciable resemblance to the rather simpler style of Polybius or Appian may be found normally in the writings of Luke. The following passage is typical:

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου παρωξύνετο τὸ
πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦντος κατείδωλον οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν. διελέγετο
μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπι-
κουρίων καὶ Στοϊκῶν φιλοσόφων συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἔλεγον Τί ἂν
θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; οἱ δὲ ζῆνων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς
εἶναι· ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο. ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἤγαγον, λέγοντες Δυνάμεθα γινῶναι τίς ἡ
καινὴ αὕτη ἢ ὑπὸ σοῦ λαλουμένη διδασχὴ; ξενίζοντα γάρ τινα εἰσφέρεις εἰς
τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν· βουλόμεθα οὖν γινῶναι τίνα θέλει ταῦτα εἶναι. Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημῶντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠυκαίρουν ἢ λέγειν
τι ἡ ἀκούειν τι καινότερον. Σταθεὶς δὲ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου ἔφη
Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὥς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ. διερχό-
μενος γάρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὑρον καὶ βωμῶν ἐν ᾧ ἐπε-
γέγραπτο Ἄγνωστῷ Θεῷ. ὁ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγ-
έλλω ὑμῖν. ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος
οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων Κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ
ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τινος, αὐτὸς διδούς
πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα· ἐποίησεν τε ἐξ ἐνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων
κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ὁρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς
καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν, ζητεῖν τὸν Θεόν, εἰ ὅρα γε ψηλαφή-
σιαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὗροισιν, καὶ γε οὐ μακρὸν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα.
ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, ὥς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς
πειτηνὸν ἐλρήκασιν τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.² Acts xvii. 16-28.

The literary style as opposed to the everyday style of the papyri is exemplified in the use of particles and combinations

¹ A classical writer might of course have employed the so-called 'vivid' subjunctive.

² 'Now while Paul waited. . .'

of particles such as $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ or $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha$ $\gamma\epsilon$. The style is clear, in no derogatory sense artificial, and in no degree overweighted. The sentences throb with that tremendous vitality that is in a peculiar sense inherent in every word of the New Testament. The traditions, historic and contemporary, that lay behind the language of the New Testament may be examined and compared as much as we will. We shall find no more than the composition of the casket or vehicle. A creative force pours into and through the language of the New Testament writers, charging it with a life that is arresting and appealing, natural and supernatural, human and Divine.

The current of thought and expression that began, so far as Greece was concerned, with the Ionian physicists, and was carried on with fresh force and direction by Plato and his successors, also found an outlet in the living stream of the New Testament. In a sense it found its goal. At its greatest it had been enquiring and speculative. In the terminology of the New Testament its questions are answered, and its doubts and wonderings turned into a strong assurance. This answer may in a sense be a negative, as in the case of the term $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ which has been mentioned above. Its sense is not that in which Plato made it familiar, but the use of the identical term supplies a link with Plato and constitutes an effective method of correcting the ideas associated with it by him. The word $\pi\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ on the other hand, undoubtedly equivalent in use to the Hebrew *ruach*, as it was used in the Septuagint, differs little from the sense in which we first find it used in Plato and in the passage of Menander that has already been quoted.

The word $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ is common from Homer onwards in the sense of 'beginning', 'first cause', and it occurs frequently in the historians in the sense of 'government'. Both these senses occur in the New Testament.¹ But there was a special sense in which the word was used by the philosophers, including Plato, with the meaning of first or elemental principle. Heraclitus applied the term $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ to the soul. The

¹ $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ $\eta\iota\nu$ δ $\Lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, John i. 1; $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\xi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, Eph. vi. 12, etc.

ἀρχή in this philosophic sense was not only the first cause, regarded as being outside and independent of the object or matter in question, it was a first cause that partook of the essence of the object, being in some sense indissolubly bound up with it. The search of the Greek thinkers may be said to have been the search for the ἀρχή of the universe. In the New Testament the word is taken up and the answer given.

*Ὅς ἔστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων (Col. i. 18),

exclaims the Apostle of Christ; and the same thing is echoed in the Apocalypse:

Τάδε λέγει ὁ Ἀμήν, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Rev. iii. 14.

Another expression of the philosophers had been the curious τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, a phrase sufficient in itself to illustrate the subtle flexibility of the Greek language. Is it fanciful to find an echo of this in the repeated ἦν of the opening verses of John's Gospel?

*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν John i. 1, 2.

In a passage of importance we find the Apostle Paul making use of the semi-philosophical terms μορφή and σχῆμα:

*Ὅς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν

Phil. ii. 6-8.

From Homeric times the word μορφή had been used in the sense of outward form or appearance, and Plato introduces it in the same sense into his more technical philosophical language contrasting it with such a term as εἶδος, which means the intrinsic reality. Paul carries the word in the same sense higher and deeper. Much discussion of the kenosis, or emptying-out of the attributes of Christ at incarnation, might have been spared, had the disputants realised rather more deeply the history of the word μορφή or noticed the

force of the reflexive ἐαυτόν, the statement being that He emptied, not His attributes out of Himself, but Himself out of one μορφή into another.

It is true to say that few terms, especially the prominent terms such as ψυχή, πνεῦμα, λόγος, as used in the New Testament exactly correspond with the uses and senses in which they appear before. Just as Plato took up the phraseology of the thinkers that preceded him and transformed much of it, making from his own thought new moulds in which he recast familiar terms and expressions, so the New Testament takes the whole Greek language—represented as it were by such of its words as the New Testament writers employ—and breathes into it transforming life. Henceforth there is a Christian phraseology, a Christian thought, a Christian theology, of all of which the New Testament is the basis. The New Testament looks back and forward. It answers and crowns the thought and language of the past, and it breaks new ground for the future. By political and social means Greek had become a world language. Now it is employed as the instrument of a world Book. In another sense it becomes a world language. The language of the New Testament is in every sense the language of humanity, because it speaks to and satisfies the deepest needs of humanity. The definiteness and assurance of the New Testament colour all its vocabulary. The Hebrew influence mediated through the Septuagint does much to assist this quality, but there is an unmistakable clear-cut connotation to each word in the New Testament. In a sense unknown before or since the language corresponds to thought. The terms of the New Testament are absolute terms, and we need only point to their subsequent history, power and undying freshness for proof. The New Testament deals with elemental things. It is the Book that in the hands of a few Christians overthrew the pagan Roman Empire in rather over two hundred years. It is the monument that carries the Greek language and the Greek mode of expression into the heart of the world, and its power was never so apparent as it is to-day.

Its language was the language of the people, closely corre-

sponding with that of the papyri. This is well illustrated by a passage of conversational narrative such as the following:

Τότε πορευθέντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον ὅπως αὐτὸν παγιδεύσωσιν ἐν λόγῳ. καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν Ἑρῳδιανῶν λέγοντας Διδάσκαλε οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ διδάσκεις, καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός, οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων· εἶπὸν οὖν ἡμῖν, τί σοι δοκεῖ; ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ; γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶπεν Τί με πειράζετε, ὑποκριταί; ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου. οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἐπιγραφή; λέγουσιν· Καίσαρος. τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ. καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.¹

Matt. xxii. 15-22.

Or again take the following passage from the Apostle Paul:

Ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τις τολμᾷ, ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ λέγω, τολμῶ κάγῳ. Ἑβραῖοι εἰσιν; κάγῳ. Ἰσραηλιταὶ εἰσιν; κάγῳ. σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; κάγῳ. διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; παραφρονῶν λαλῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐγώ. ἐν κόποις περισσοτέρως, ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως, ἐν πληγαῖς υπερβαλλόντως, ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις. ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον, τρίς ἐραβδίσθη, ἀπαξ ἐμβάσθη, τρίς ἐναύγησα, νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα. ὁδοπορίας πολλάκις, κινδύνους ποταμῶν, κινδύνους ληστῶν, κινδύνους ἐκ γένους, κινδύνους ἐξ ἔθνων, κινδύνους ἐν πόλει, κινδύνους ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, κινδύνους ἐν θαλάσῃ, κινδύνους ἐν ψευδαδέλφοις, κόπῳ καὶ μόθῳ, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις πολλάκις, ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει, ἐν νηστείαις πολλάκις, ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι· χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτὸς ἡ ἐπίστασις μοι ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι; εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχῆσομαι. ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὃ ὦν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ἐν Δαμασκῷ, ὃ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρουρεῖ τὴν πόλιν Δαμασκηνῶν πιάσαι με, καὶ διὰ θυρίδος ἐν σαργάνῃ ἐχάλασθην διὰ τοῦ τεύχους καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.²

2 Cor. xi. 21-33.

This passage with its short quick phrases is typical of Paul, but in general aspects the language of both quotations is the same. It is simple and alive. Its vocabulary is conversational. Roman influence is seen in the use of the words κῆνσος and δηνάριον, the former of which particularly appears strange in a Greek dress. In the passage from Paul at least one Hebraism is apparent, the expression σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ. The term σπέρμα used in this sense was by no means strange to

¹ Then went the Pharisees. . . .

² Howbeit whereinsoever any is bold. . . .

Greek, but until the Septuagint it had been confined to poetic and idealistic language. It is the underlying Hebrew that enabled its familiarisation in the simple style of the New Testament. In the passage from Matthew the word ὑποκριταί occurs. When first used it is probable that it was not felt to have any technical force, but as a result of its use in the New Testament (as in the Septuagint) it has developed a semi-technical theological or moral connotation. This is the case with many terms employed under similar circumstances in the New Testament. In addition there were terms employed consciously in a new or technical sense, which they retained afterwards in Christian literature, such as ἐκκλησία, or οἱ ἅγιοι used as a definition of the members of a Christian church, as is so frequently the case at the opening of Paul's Epistles. No such term of course was unknown previously to the language, but it acquires a different connotation. Variation of the meaning of words and the acquiring of new meanings take place as a rule by gradual development, it being seldom that a single author or speaker has sufficient strength or personality to impose a new sense upon a word or expression. We have seen what the genius of Plato did for such words as ψυχή. But the New Testament was the means of creating a whole new world of thought by force of the connotations imposed in it upon words and expressions previously in use. This was done at a stroke, and it can be no more than partially explained by the introduction of Hebrew ideas and phrases by way of the Septuagint. The New Testament is essentially a Greek Book. The impact with which it struck the Greek language and the changes that it wrought are due to an inherent vitality which is incapable of any explanation that is adequate in any other known case.

The language of the Apocalypse shows peculiarities of its own, as compared with the rest of the New Testament, though they may be paralleled in the papyri. Irregularities of concord occur in very great extension of the normal anacoluthon which is found from time to time in the purest literary Attic. Thus we find

ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτὸν στυλόν Rev. iii. 12,

and later in the same verse:

τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἡ κατα-
βαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *Ibid.*

A curious confusion of cases appears in the following sentence:

Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκὴ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον ὁμοιον
υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον *Rev. xiv. 14.*

The accusative καθήμενον looks back to the verb εἶδον in spite of the nominative with ἰδοὺ having been interposed, while the participle ἔχων again lapses into the nominative.¹ There is however in this case a variant reading which gives

καθήμενος ὁμοιος υἱῷ.

Very startling to the purist is the use of the nominative following the preposition ἐπὶ in the sentence:

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος,

but the expression is to be regarded as intentionally indeclinable in order to indicate the unchangeableness of the Divine nature, a sort of echo of the Hebrew sacred Name 'I Am', strengthened by the verbal form ἦν used with the article in the place of an indeclinable participle. Ungrammatical discord in number is seen in the following sentence:

καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὗ οὐ
γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς *Rev. xiii. 8.*

The singular is clearly intended to emphasise the distributive force in the πάντες, while the intrusion of αὐτοῦ² in addition to οὗ is another example of the illiterate style in which the book is written. Certain irregularities of a similar type occur also in the second³ epistle of Peter.

The Apocalypse also provides evidence of the extent to which the verbal system had become subject to simplification in the everyday language of the period. The aorist and perfect indicative had begun to be confused, as had happened in Latin in prehistoric times. A clear example occurs in the following sentence:

καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου

Rev. iv. 7.

¹ A construction that appears in mediaeval Greek.

² Common in modern Greek.

³ E.g. i. 17, 18.

We should of course expect two aorists. The form ἔλαβον had not fallen out of use, for it occurs in x. 10, and indeed it is the aorist that of the two tenses has survived, but the perfect and aorist were capable of being interchanged at will, a condition of affairs that naturally led to the elimination of one of them. In the following passage we have another example of the use of perfect and aorist in the same sentence:

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾧν, ὅτι
 εἰληφας τὴν δύναμιν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβασίλευσας· καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθη-
 σαν, καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου Rev. xi. 17, 18.

A prominent feature of the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament is the extension of the preposition ἐν and its use to denote the instrument, where in Attic we should have no preposition at all. Examples are frequent:

Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιεῖς; Mark xi. 28;
 Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ
 ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου Matt. xxii. 37;
 Ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι John i. 26.

This usage is a reflection of Hebrew and may have been confirmed by the introduction of Hebrew idiom in the Septuagint, but apart from this fact it grew up independently within Greek itself, as is shown by other documents of the period which could not have come under Hebrew influence.

The papyri continue unbroken until the seventh century A.D. The following is a letter found at Oxyrhynchus from a woman to her brother, dating from the third century:

Ἐλένη Πετεχῶντος τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. οὐ καλῶς ἔπραξας μὴ ἔλθειν χάριν
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου· ἀφήκες αὐτὸν μὴ κηδεῦσαι αὐτόν. μάθε οὖν ὅτι ἀλλοτρίαν
 γυναῖκα ἐκληρονόμησεν αὐτόν. γενοῦ οὖν πρὸς Θέωνα καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ
 περὶ τῆς κέλλας ὅτι ἐσφραγίσθη τὴν κέλλαν αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ὀφειλῶν, καὶ
 εἰπὲ Πετεχῶντι τὸν υἱὸν Πολυδεύκης ὅτι εἰ μέλλεις ἔλθειν ἔλθέ, Διόσκορος
 γὰρ λειτούργει ὑπὲρ σοῦ· εἰ οἶδες ὅτι σὺ μέλλεις ἔλθειν, πέμπων μοι τὸν
 ἀδελφόν σου Κάστορα. ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.¹

¹ A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part vii (1910), no. 1067, p. 222:
 'Helene to her brother Petechon, greeting. You did not do well not to
 come on account of your brother; you have allowed his burial to be
 neglected. Know then that a strange woman is made his heir. Go to
 Theon and tell him about his cellar, that it has been sealed up although
 he owes nothing; and say to Petechon the son of Polydeuces, "Come if

This letter is as irregular grammatically as anything in the New Testament. The genitive will be noticed in the first sentence in place of the dative with a dative in agreement, and we are reminded of the Apocalypse by the apposition of the accusative υἱόν with the dative Πετεχῶντι. The forms γυναῖκα and οἶδες show how the changes introducing the modern language had already begun.

An example of the business language of the fourth century is found in the following, which is an order for the delivery of aracus, dated A.D. 360:

Παρά Πτολεμίνου Θωνίῳ προνοητῇ Νίγρου χαίρειν. παραμέτρησον Δωροθέῳ ἀδελφῷ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς κρέως λιτρῶν πεντακοσίων μέλλοντι λημματίσαι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ὀνόματι τέως διὰ Ἱερονίκου ἀρακος ἀρτάβας τεσσαράκοντα. ἀρακος ἀρτάβαι μ, ὥς τῆς ἀρτάβης μίας λογιζομένης ἐκ δηναρίων μυριάδων ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, ὥς εἶναι τοῦ ἐπιστάλματος δηναρίων μυριάδας ἑπτακισχίλιας διακοσίας, δηναρίων μυριάδες Ξα.¹

A notable reminiscence of the New Testament in the transaction quoted is the occurrence of the phrase τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ὀνόματι, which is found to be a common business expression, a fact that lends weight and force to its theological and devotional² use.

The following is part of a petition by two night watchmen to a magistrate complaining of the danger attached to their duties. It dates from A.D. 392:

Τῶν εἰρηνικῶν τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδεδομημένοι καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑπουργοῦμεν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπιτάγμασι ἐπανεχόντες δὲ καὶ τῇ παραφυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, ἀναγκαζόμεθα δὲ συνεχῶς ἕνεκεν τῆς παραστάσεως διαφόρων προσώπων κατὰ πρόσταγμα τῶν κυρίων μου τῶν μινζόνων [sic] ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ μὴ ἔχόντων ἡμῶν τὴν βοήθειαν εἶτ' οὖν τοὺς δημοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἐφοδεύτας you are coming, for Dioscorus is labouring on your behalf. If you know that you are not coming, send me your brother Castor". I pray for your health'.

¹ A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part VII (1910), no. 1056, p. 211: 'From Ptoleminus to Thonius, steward of Nigrus, greeting. Measure out to my brother Dorotheus, who is about to collect payments on my account, hitherto paid (?) through Hieronicus, for the price of 500 pounds of meat, forty artabae of aracus, total 40 art. aracus, a single artaba being reckoned at one hundred and eighty myriads of denarii, making the order seven thousand two hundred myriads of denarii, total 7200 myriads of denarii'.

² E.g. John xvi. 23, 24.

πολλάκις σχεδὸν εἶπεν [sic] εἰς ψυχὴν ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν διὰ τὸ τοῦτους παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεσπᾶσθαι μόνοι περιερχόμενοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατοπτεύοντες.¹

Our last papyrus quotation must be the following, from an acknowledgment of a debt dating from the sixth century and found at Apollinopolis Magna:

Ὁμολογῶ διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας ὀφείλειν καὶ χρεωστέιν τῇ σῇ αἰδεσιμότητι ἀποκρότως εἰς ἰδίαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν χρυσοῦ κεφαλαίῳ νομισμάτια δεσποτικά ἀπλᾶ δόκιμα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἕξ ἡμισυ τέταρτον παρὰ κερᾶτια δέκα τέσσαρα τῷ σῷ σταθμῷ . . . καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμως ἔχω σὺν θεῷ παρασχεῖν τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ ὅπότεν βουληθεῖ μετὰ καὶ τῆς τούτων παραμυθίας, τοῦτ' ἔστιν καθ' ἕτος ἑκάστου νομισματίου οἴνου καθαρῷ καὶ ἀδόλου κολόβων πέντε μέτρῳ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς μοναστηρίου ἀββᾶ Ἀγενοῦς ἄχρι ἀποδόσεως καὶ [συμ]πληρώσεως τῶν πρ[ο]γ[ε]γ[ρ]αμ[μ]ένων ἕξ νομισματίων χωρὶς οἰασθήποτε εὐρεσιλογίας καὶ ὑπερβέσεως κινδύνῳ ἐμῷ καὶ πόρῳ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποίημαι σοὶ τοῦτο τάσφαλές καὶ ἔστιν μου ὀλόγραφον χειρὶ ἐμῇ· ἀπέλυσα ὡς πρόκειται.²

Although the document is five hundred years later than the New Testament the language is reminiscent of it in certain respects. The terms παραμυθία and ἀσφάλεια are prominent in the vocabulary of the New Testament. The expression ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν reminds us of the similar plural use εἰς ἀναγκαίας χρεῖας in Titus iii. 14. All this provides

¹ A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part vii (1910), no. 1033, p. 174: 'Being entrusted with the care of the peace we are irreproachable in our obedience to public orders, and also intent upon the guardianship of the city. We are often called upon for the production of various persons in accordance with the command of our lords the superior officials, but having no assistance either of public guards or inspectors we often run the risk almost of our lives because these assistants have been taken from us and we go about the city on the watch all alone'.

² B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series II, no. 90, p. 141: 'I admit by this my written pledge that I am indebted to your reverence entirely for my necessary personal needs for a sum of gold in good imperial coins to the number of six, four and a half going to fourteen carat by your weight. . . . I am ready with God's help to pay this to your excellency whenever you wish together with the following abatement, that is to say, year by year for each coin five measures of pure unmixed wine measured by the holy abbat Agenes until the payment in full of the aforesaid six coins without any deceit or delay whatsoever at my own risk and supplied from my own property. And I have given you this pledge as a security and it is wholly written in my own hand. I have set my hand as is aforesaid'.

further demonstration of the extent to which the language of the New Testament was the language of the common people of the time. The late date of the passage above accounts for curious phrases such as τῇ σῇ ἀδελφικότητι or τοῦ . . . μοναστηρίου ἄββα, which have a mediaeval flavour. The latter phrase, foreign as it is to those who know Greek only from the classics or even the New Testament, is assimilated without difficulty, such were the astonishing elasticity and power of adaptability that the language possessed. The words have become Greek enough not to give one a shock.

Another factor that is illustrated by these documents of late date is the remarkable stability of the language. Great as are the differences in detail between the prose of Thucydides and that of the document last quoted, the essential structure of the language remains the same. The inflexional system has not broken down. The construction and arrangement of the sentences are broadly the same. The familiar compounds both of substantive and verb are present. An idiom such as ἐτοίμως ἔχω is still in use. Apart from the influx of borrowed words, which is proportionately small, the changes of vocabulary or the gradual change of sense inevitable in the development of a language were slow and slight. This sixth-century papyrus has an easily recognisable linguistic kinship, recognisable indeed even on the surface, with the Homeric poems.

The New Testament very naturally formed the foundation of an expository and theological literature which from the days of the early 'Fathers' increased in volume until Byzantine times, when in ecclesiastical historians such as Philostorgius (fl. 400) or Sozomen (fl. 450) it merged with the historical tradition which had till then been in non-Christian hands. This Christian literature is well exemplified in Justin Martyr (fl. 150) and Origen (fl. 230). The following is a quotation from Justin's *Apology* for Christianity addressed to the Emperor Antoninus:

"Ἄνθρωποι οὖν τινες ἐν 'Ιουδαίῳις γεγέννηται, Θεοῦ προφηταί, δι' ὧν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα προεκήρυξε τὰ γενήσεσθαι μέλλοντα πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτων οἱ ἐν 'Ιουδαίῳις κατὰ καιροῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς τὰς προφητείας,

ὡς ἐλέχθησαν ὅτε ἐπροφητεύοντο, τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν Ἑβραϊδί φωνῇ ἐν βιβλίοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν συντεταγμένας κτῶμενοι περιεῖπον. ὅτε δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς, βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων συγγράμματα συνάγειν ἐπειράθη, πυθόμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητειῶν τούτων, προσέπεμψε τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τότε βασιλεύοντι Ἡρώδῃ ἀξιῶν διαπεμφθῆναι αὐτῷ τὰς βίβλους τῶν προφητειῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης τῇ προειρημένῃ Ἑβραϊδί αὐτῶν φωνῇ γεγραμμένας διεπέμψατο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἦν γνώριμα τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγραμμένα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἥξιωσε πέμψας τοὺς μεταβαλοῦντας αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνῇ ἀνθρώπων ἀποστέλλαι. καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἔμειναν αἱ βίβλοι καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ πανταχοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν εἰσιν Ἰουδαίοις, οἱ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες οὐ συνιᾶσι τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ πολεμίους ἡγοῦνται, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀναιροῦντες καὶ κολάζοντες ἡμᾶς ὁπότεαν δύνωνται, ὡς καὶ πεισθῆναι δύνασθε.¹ *Apology, 216 A-B.*

There is about the work of Justin, appreciable even in the extract quoted, a directness and a vitality that are clearly reminiscent of the New Testament. The linguistic scope and style are the same. The current of which Justin's writings form a part has its source in the New Testament, though he lacks the perfect simplicity that characterises the style of the New Testament writers. Origen wrote nearly a hundred years later, and the contrast of his style with that of Justin is profound. The following is an extract from his reply to Celsus :

Δύο τοίνυν νόμων προκειμένων γενικῶς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὄντος τῆς φύσεως νόμου, ὃν Θεὸς ἂν νομοθετήσαι, ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γραπτοῦ,

¹ 'There arose certain men among the Jews who were prophets of God, through whom the spirit of prophecy declared events that were to happen in the future before they occurred. The kings who reigned among the Jews in times past acquired the prophecies which the prophets had collected in books in their own Hebrew language and circulated them in their original form. At the time when Ptolemy king of Egypt was preparing a library and attempting to collect all writings in existence, he heard of these prophecies and sent to Herod who was king of Judea at the time, requesting that the books of prophecies might be sent to him. King Herod accordingly sent them written, as I said, in the Hebrew language. The Egyptians were unable to understand what was written, so he again sent and requested him to send men to translate them into Greek. The translation was made and the books have remained in Egypt until now. The Jews also have them wherever they are, though they do not understand their meaning when they read them but regard us as enemies and foes, destroying and persecuting us whenever they can as you do, a fact of which you can convince yourselves.'

300 GREEK AS A WORLD LANGUAGE

καλὸν οἶπου μὲν μὴ ἐναντιοῦται ὁ γραπτὸς νόμος τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ μὴ λυπεῖν τοὺς πολῖτας προφάσει ξένων νόμων· ἐνθα δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τῷ γραπτῷ νόμῳ προστάσσει ὁ τῆς φύσεως τουτέστι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅρα εἰ μὴ ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ μακρὰν μὲν χαίρειν εἰπεῖν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ τῷ βουλήματι τῶν νομοθετῶν, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ νομοθέτῃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τούτου λόγον αἰρεῖσθαι βίον; καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ μυρίων πόνων καὶ θανάτων καὶ ἀδοξίας τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἔτοπον, τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τῷ Θεῷ ἑτέρων ὄντων παρὰ τὰ ἀρέσκοντά τισι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νόμων, καὶ ἀμηχάνου τυγχάνοντος ἀρέσκειν Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι τοὺς τοιοῦσδε νόμους, καταφρονεῖν μὲν πράξεων, δι' ὧν ἀρέσει τις τῷ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργῷ, αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκείνας, ἐξ ὧν ἀπάρεστος μὲν τις ἔσται τῷ Θεῷ, ἀρεστὸς δὲ τοῖς οὐ νόμοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων φίλοις.¹

v. 37.

Here we are back in the style of Aristotle or approaching it. The simplicity and vitality of the New Testament, reflected in Justin Martyr, have given place to complicated rather lifeless and laboured sentences, reflecting more perhaps the mind of their author than any intentional imitation of pre-Christian philosophers. From a linguistic point of view the value of this third-century treatise is to illustrate once again the surprising stability of the language, at any rate the literary language, and its imperviousness to change, a stability that at this period and during the long centuries of the Byzantine government it became little less than stagnation. Those familiar with the language however will not be long in detecting turns of phrase or expression unknown to the

¹ 'There are two different kinds of law, the law of nature, of which God is the author, and the law in force in states. Where the civil law is not opposed to the law of God, it is a good thing not to offend one's fellow-citizens with the pretext that one is not subject to their laws. But where natural law, which is the law of God, points in an opposite direction to civil law, take care to bid farewell to the civil laws and to the purpose of the legislators, but hand yourself over to God regarding Him as your lawgiver and decide to live on the lines of His Word, even if in doing so you are exposed to danger or ten thousand sorrows and deaths or to loss of reputation. When it is impossible to reconcile the things that please God with those that agree with certain of the civil laws, and when pleasing those responsible for such laws is found to be incompatible with pleasing God, it is absurd to refuse a course of action by which it is possible to please the great Constructor of all, and to choose one which would be displeasing to God, but in agreement with laws that are no real laws and those who like them.'

writers of the classical age. In the extract from Origen quoted above we may count among such the adjective ἀπάρεστος, which, so far as is known, first appears in Hellenistic times, the first known instance being in the works of Epictetus the Stoic; and the expression τοῖς οὐ νόμοις νόμοις, which though in harmony with Greek modes of expression would be strange or difficult in the prose¹ of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The static condition of the literary language, as apart from the spoken language, which will be described in the next chapter, renders any detailed examination of the writers of the Byzantine age unnecessary from a linguistic point of view. It can be illustrated by short extracts from writers of Roman and Byzantine times whose work lay at intervals of two or more hundred years.

Pausanias, the archaeologist, who wrote a description of Greece, belongs to the later years of the second century A.D. His style is terse and devoid of ornateness or charm, and may be compared with that of Strabo the geographer, and, allowing for the difference in subject-matter and hence of vocabulary, with that of Aristotle. The following passage is taken from his account of Corinth:

Θεάς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια ἔστι μὲν θέατρον, ἔστι δὲ στάδιον λίθου λευκοῦ ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων τὰ Ἴσθμα ἐστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τοῦτο δὲ πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου, τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασιν Τρίτωνες χαλκοί. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ, δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσης, καὶ αὐτὴ χαλκῇ. τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρῶσους πλὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν· ὀπλὰι δὲ σφισὶν εἰσιν ἐλέφαντος.²

Pausanias, II. 7. 112-13.

¹ Though perhaps possible in Aeschylus.

² 'There is a theatre worth seeing, and a stadium is of marble. On entering the sanctuary you find on one side statues of athletes victorious in the Isthmian games, and on the other pine-trees planted in a row, the majority of them rising straight up. The temple is not very large in size and Tritons in bronze stand on it. There are statues in the pronaos, two of Poseidon, a third of Amphitrite and one in bronze of the Sea. The statues in the interior, consisting of four horses gilded except for the hoofs, which are of ivory, were set up in our time by Herodes Atticus.'

We may compare a short extract from the work of Zosimus, historian of the Roman Empire, whose history may be dated about A.D. 425:

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ πολιορκούμενοι βελῶν παντοίων ἀφέσει τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμύναντο, λίθων δὲ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἐνδον ἀσφάλτω βώλους πεπυρωμένους ἤκόντιζον. ἐτύγχανον δὲ τῶν πεμπομένων αἱ βολαὶ ῥαδίως οἶα καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου καὶ κατὰ πλήθους πεμπόμεναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται, καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς ἐξ ὕψους βοηθείαις ἐλαττούμενοι, παρήκαν εἶδος ἀνδρίας καὶ πολεμικῆς ἐπιστήμης· λίθοις γὰρ χειροπλήθεσιν ἐβαλλον, βέλεσι τε οὐκ ἐκ τόξων μόνον ἀφιεμένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ μηχανημάτων, ἅπερ οὐκ ἐφ' ἐνὸς μόνου ἴστατο πηγνύμενα σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ πλείω διήει.¹

Zosimus, II. 21.

It is curious that this quotation from a non-Christian writer provides us with a reminiscence of the New Testament in the expression βώλους πεπυρωμένους, which half echoes τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα of Eph. vi. 16. The words of course are neither technical nor theological, but their use again brings home the fact of the familiarity of the language of the New Testament and its close contact with the everyday life and language of its time. The phrase εἶδος ἀνδρίας καὶ πολεμικῆς ἐπιστήμης is an illustration of the changed times. It is curiously un-Attic, and in common with much else that is perceptible in the work of Zosimus takes us back to Livy rather than to any Greek source. It is perhaps not surprising, but not less interesting, to find such an influence, acting as it is in the reverse direction to the tremendous forces that Greek style and literature brought to bear on Latin. Contrast with this the following extract from the writings of the Emperor Leo VI, the Philosopher (fl. 886):

¹ 'Those blockaded in the tower kept their enemies at bay by the discharge of various weapons, and as they had no stones within they slung clods of earth set on fire with bitumen. The missiles easily reached their mark, as always happens when they are thrown from above and against men crowded together. Yet the Roman troops, in spite of their disadvantage in respect of protection from above, did not fail in their turn to show courage and technical skill. They threw stones as large as they could hold, and not only shot arrows from bows but also from engines. In the latter case the arrows did not remain fixed in one man's body, but pierced two or three or even more.'

Θεὸς οὗ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἡ πανήγυρις, ἣν μὲν ἐξ αἰδίου συνῶν τῷ τεκόντι, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγησάμενος, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔχων μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι· κληρονομῶν δ' ὡσπερ τῆς συμφύας καὶ τῆς αἰδιότητος, οὕτω καὶ δόξης, καὶ πάντων ὅσα τοῦ γεννήτορος. Ἐπρεπε γὰρ δόξης καὶ κυριότητος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁμοτιμία τῷ Υἱῷ, ὅτι τέλειος καὶ τέλειον· καὶ ὅτι οὕτω μᾶλλον σώζοιτ' ἂν ἡ δόξα τῷ ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ, ἐν τῷ μηδὲν ὑποβεβηκέναι δόξης καὶ τιμῆς τὸν Υἱόν. Ἀνθρώποι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεὶ κατ' οὐδὲν τέλειοι, ἐνδέοντες τίκτουσιν ἐνδεεῖς· ὁ δὲ, τέλειος ὢν, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπερτελής, ἀπροσδεῖ γεννᾷ· ἵν' οἰκεία μεγαλοπρεπείας Θεοῦ ἡ γέννησις ᾗ, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως ἀπρεπῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κληρονόμος ὢν πάντων ὅσα τοῦ γεννήτορος, ἀγαθὸς ᾗ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· ἔδει δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον ὀφθῆναι τῆς ἀγαθότητος, μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ δημιουργῆσαι τὸν χοῦν εἰκόνα Θεοῦ· μηδ' ἂν ὑπὲρ πλοῦτος ὁ τιμηθεὶς ἐχρημάτιζεν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ῥοπαῖς οἰκείαις θανάτῳ δεδούλωτο, καὶ ἄπορον ἡ λύτρωσις ᾗν, εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο δῶρον τῆς ἐκείθεν ἀγαθότητος.¹

Oratio X: In dominicam Resurrectionem (Migne, p. 101 B-D).

The language is theological, the vocabulary based on that of the New Testament, but the style is lifeless and rather involved, in a sense reminiscent of Origen. The language has still a certain amount of adaptability, but stagnation has settled down upon it.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, when the downfall of the Byzantine Empire was already inevitable and when the life of our own English nation subsequent to the Norman conquest had already begun, we find a style that it would

¹ 'The One Whom we celebrate to-day is God, existing from eternity with His Father, considering it not robbery, as the oracle has it, to be equal with God, but having His being from Him, and inheriting His glory and all that is His Father's, as well as continuity of substance and eternity. It was necessary that the Son should have equal honour in glory and dominion from the beginning, because He is perfect and derives from One Who is perfect; and also because the glory of Him from Whom is every fatherhood could the better be preserved by the Son not falling short in glory and honour. Imperfect men produce imperfect children, because they are in no respect perfect. But He, being perfect, one should rather say superior to all perfection, is the begetter of One Who is lacking in nothing; in order that the begetting of God may be consistent with His excellence, and not unbecoming His nature. Since He was heir of all that was His Father's, He was good since He derived from One Who was good; and it was necessary for the riches of His goodness to appear, not only in constructing the dust in the image of God, nor from the fact that the one so honoured was declared exceedingly rich; but since he became enslaved to death by his own self-originated inclination, and his redemption was impossible, this gift also came from the Divine goodness.'

304 GREEK AS A WORLD LANGUAGE

be difficult to distinguish from the literary Hellenistic of Dionysius of Halicarnassus being practised by Anna Comnena, biographist of her father the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. The style though very artificial, as is to be expected, has a dignity and charm. The following is a passage from the princess' biography:

Οὗτος τοίνυν προκαθήμενος φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης, καὶ συρρεούσης εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς νεότητος (καὶ γὰρ τὰ τε Πρόκλου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ τὰ φιλοσόφων ἀμφοῖν Πορφυρίου τε καὶ Ἰαμβλίου ἀνεκάλυπτε τούτοις δόγματα καὶ μάλιστα τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους τέχνας καὶ τὴν ὡς ὄργανον πηρεχομένην χρεῖαν ὑπηγεῖτο τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πραγματεῖαν, καὶ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἐνηρβύνετο καὶ ἐνησχόλητο), οὐ πᾶν τι τοὺς μανθάνοντας ὠφελῆσαι ἐνίσχυσε, τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ ἥθους ἀκαταστασίαν κωλύμην ἔχων. καὶ ὅρα μοι τοὺς τούτου μαθητάς, τὸν Σολομῶντα Ἰωάννην καὶ τινὰς Ἰασίτας καὶ Σερβλίους καὶ ἄλλους τέχαι περὶ τὴν μάθησιν ἐσπουδακότας. ὦν τοὺς πλείους θαμὰ φοιτῶντας πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ αὐτὴ ἔθεασάμην ὕστερον, τεχνικὸν μὴδὲν τι κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν εἰδὼτας, σχηματιζομένους δὲ τὸν διαλεκτικὸν κινήσειν ἐτάκτοις καὶ μορίων παραφόροις τισὶ μεταφοραῖς, ὕγιές δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένους, προβαλλομένους τὰς ἰδέας, ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις συνεσκιασμένους πῶς καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα ὁμοίотροπα καὶ παραπλησίως τούτοις ἄλλοκοτα.¹

Alexias, v. 9.

Our final passage will be taken from Theodorus Gaza, who lived and wrote a few years before the fall of Constantinople and the termination of the Byzantine Empire. Among other works he wrote an account of the Turks and a treatise *In*

¹ 'This man then was the acknowledged master of all philosophy and the youth flocked to him. (For he expounded to them the doctrines of Plato and Proclus and of the two philosophers, Porphyry and Iamblichus, but especially the rules of Aristotle; and he gave instruction in the system to those who wished, as affording a serviceable tool and it was on this that he rather prided himself and to this he devoted his attention.) Yet he was unequal to exerting a very good influence on his pupils as his violent temper and his general instability of character stood in the way. And look, I pray, at his pupils—there were Solomon John, and an Iasitas and Serblias and others devoted to learning maybe; most of them I saw myself later, as they often came to the palace. They knew no literary subject accurately, but would pose as dialecticians, making ungainly movements and mad contortions of their limbs, they understood nothing sound but put forth ideas, even those about metempsychosis, in a shadowy way and other similar equally monstrous notions.'

Miss E. A. S. Dawes' translation.

Praise of the Dog. The following extract is taken from the latter:

Τὶ δὲ ζῶον κυνῶν φυλακτικώτερον, καὶ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀποδιδόναι πιστότερον; Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν ἀγελῶν προϊστάμεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας αὐτοὶ εἰς νόμην ἐξάγουσι, καὶ προπέμπουσι, προπεμφθεῖσας δὲ φυλάττουσι, φυλαχθεῖσας δὲ ὀπίσω οἴκαδε ἄγουσι· τοῖς μὲν προβάτοις ἥπιοι, τοῖς δὲ λύκοις φοβεροί, τοῖς δὲ ποιμέσι πειθήνιοι· καὶ ζώντων μὲν τούτων, οὐκ ἂν ἄψαιντο λύκοι ἀγέλης, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ταχέως διέσπασαν· διὸ καὶ οἱ ἀσώπειοι σπονδὰς καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ συμμαχίαν τοῖς ποιμνίοις προὔτεινον, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τραχεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ σκληροὺς καὶ ἀπεχθεῖς κύνας ἐκδότους ποιεῖν· εὖ εἰδότες, ὅτι τούτων κρατήσαντες, ἅπλως τὰ πρόβατα χειρῶσονται. Καὶ τί ἂν σοι λέγοιμι τὸν Κάππαρον ἐκεῖνον; μᾶλλον δὲ τί οὐκ ἂν σοι λέγοιμι τὸν φύλακα τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ; ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἱερὸς ὕλῳ τις λάθρα εἰσελθὼν, ἐσύλα τὰ τιμωτάτα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὅσον φωνῆς ἦκε ὑλάκτει· οὐκ ἐγειρομένων δὲ τῶν ζακάρων, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδράσκειν τῷ ἱεροσύλῳ ἀφορμὴν δεδωκότων, εἰδὼκε τὸν ἱερὸν σῦλον ὁ κύων, οὐδέποτε ἀπολειπόμενος αὐτοῦ· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν τοὺς αἰὶ ἐκάστοτε ἀπαντῶντας φιλοφρονούμενος, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἱεροσύλῳ ὑλακτῶν, νυκτὸς δὲ ὁμοίως ἐπόμενος, ἄχρῃ οὐ ὅτι ἐπὶ διώξει πεμφθέντες, πυνθανόμενοι καθ' ὁδὸν περὶ τοῦ κυνός, τὸν ἱερὸν σῦλον κατέλαβον, καὶ ὀπίσω εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦγον.

Theodorus Gaza, *Laudatio Canis* (Migne, p. 992, A, B).

The work is of no particular merit or interest, but it well illustrates the static condition of the language. It would be at once recognised, or at least suspected, from certain in-

¹ 'No animal is more watchful than the dog or more faithful in guarding what is left to its care. For this reason they are placed in charge of sheep, and they lead the sheep out to pasture of their own accord and move them on, protecting them as well as moving them, and bring them back home under their care. They are gentle to the sheep, fierce to wolves, and obedient to the shepherds. While they are alive, no wolves will touch the flock, but when they are dead, the wolves quickly tear the sheep in pieces. And so the wolves in Aesop's fable proposed treaties, peace and alliance with the flocks on condition they would surrender those fierce, ill-tempered, hateful dogs, knowing that with these in their power they would easily master the sheep. I need not mention the famous Capparar, or rather I find it impossible to omit mention of the guardian of Asclepius' shrine. When a thief entered secretly and carried off the most valuable objects, the dog barked as loud as he was able. The temple-attendants did not wake but allowed the thief an opportunity to escape, whereupon the dog pursued the thief and refused to let him go. By day he behaved in a friendly way to those who happened to meet him, but continued to bark at the thief, following him by night likewise, until those sent in pursuit by enquiring for the dog along the way caught the thief and brought him back to Athens.'

essential points of expression and style to belong to a period different from the classical, but in essentials it belongs still to the prose of Thucydides and Plato. In the short quotation above the optative with $\epsilon\upsilon$ occurs three times, but its use is artificial and un-Attic. The expression $\tau\acute{\iota}$ λέγοιμι; reflects the Latin *quid dicam* rather than a natural Attic tradition, while $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$ $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota\upsilon\tau\omicron$ is used with reference to the present in a general statement, rather than of an unexpected occurrence in the future. Clearly the use of the optative was at this period no more than a literary trick of style. The hyper-Attic form $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ should also be noticed.

Thus the literary language underwent no essential change from the time of Aristotle till its eclipse in the fifteenth century. In the fourth and following two centuries B.C. simplification took place, the optative being greatly restricted in use, certain tense forms tending to coalesce, and the dual practically disappearing. With the political ascendancy of Rome the opportunity for development left the Greek nation, and the stagnation that followed, as we have seen, was reflected in the language. The life and vitality of the New Testament, which originated not in the language but beyond it, inspired a Christian literature for a time, but the blight finally fell upon the ecclesiastical language also. During a period in which progressive languages change beyond recognition the Greek literary language remained to all intents and purposes the same. The popular speech, as we shall see in the following chapter, underwent changes, but the gulf that separates the language of modern Athens from that of Homer is far less wide than that which lies between the English of the present day and that of the twelfth century. While the Latin language changed, developed and finally broke up into the various national languages of western Europe, being preserved only as a dead tongue for artificial purposes, Greek has remained Greek until to-day. The contrasted circumstances of the two provide a very clear illustration of the extent to which language waits upon the political and social development of those who speak it.

Chapter XI

GREEK AT THE PRESENT DAY

The resistance to change that we have seen in the preceding chapter to have been a feature of the Greek of Roman and Byzantine times so far persisted as to preserve the language through the centuries of Turkish domination until the revival of Greece that took place a century ago. It remains the language of the liberated Greece of to-day. In appearance the written language is comparatively little changed, but in the region where the interest of the linguist chiefly lies, that is to say as sounds upon the lips of those that speak it, the language is very different from what it must have been.

The rich vowel system has broken down. We have already seen the initial stages of these changes, which appeared first in the Boeotian dialect, forming part of the watershed between classical and Hellenistic Greek. In Roman and Byzantine times they were carried to their conclusion. The vowels α , ϵ , ι and \omicron have remained the same in value from the earliest period until the present day, and still constitute the elementary basis of the Greek vowel system. But the substitution of a stress accent for the former pitch has destroyed the difference¹ in quantity between \omicron and ω , which are now identical in sound. The open vowel η became close in early Hellenistic times, while the vowel represented by $\epsilon\iota$, originally a close long $\bar{\epsilon}$, became closer till by the beginning of the Christian era it had coalesced with ι . In Byzantine times the vowel η , already close, followed the original close vowel and also coalesced with ι . Differences of quantity having been removed by the stress accent we find a single vowel ι representing in modern Greek the original long and short ι and the

¹ Distinction in quantity, although it has disappeared as originally constituted in ancient Greek, is not entirely absent, such vowels as receive the stress accent having naturally greater length than those in unaccented syllables.

original long open \bar{e} (η) and close \bar{e} ($\epsilon\iota$), as well as the original diphthong $\epsilon\iota$. Moreover in post-Hellenistic times the vowel υ , both long and short, became un-rounded and coalesced with ι . In all these cases the original, or at any rate the Byzantine, orthography is preserved, so that in the written language the phonetic changes are entirely disguised. Thus in all the following words the first vowel is pronounced in the same way: $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\kappa\eta\psi$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon$, $\acute{\eta}$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$.

Of the original diphthongs $\omicron\upsilon$ has from Hellenistic times had the value of \bar{u} and retains it, as in the word $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. In the case of the diphthongs $\alpha\upsilon$, $\epsilon\upsilon$, $\eta\upsilon$ the second element has become a spirant, which before voiced sounds is voiced (English v) and before unvoiced sounds unvoiced (English f). Thus $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is pronounced as English *aflós*, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\omega$ as *pávo*, $\psi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ as *pséftis*, $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ as *thülévo*, $\eta\breve{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$ as *íura*. In the case of the ι diphthongs the changes took place for the most part at the beginning of, or during, the Hellenistic period. Thus $\alpha\iota$ had become a long close \bar{e} by the time that the New Testament was written, and it will be remembered that in inscriptions in the Boeotian dialect in the fourth century B.C. we find spellings such as $\kappa\acute{\eta}$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$. In the papyri the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$, which had already coalesced with the original long close \bar{e} represented by $\epsilon\iota$, had fallen together with ι . The diphthong $\omicron\iota$ has in modern Greek become ι . The stages through which it passed cannot be exactly determined, but in Boeotian inscriptions of the third century B.C. we find the $\omicron\iota$ of other dialects represented by υ . If the change in this dialect was in this case the forerunner of a similar change in Attic and other dialects, as was the change in $\alpha\iota$ and $\eta\iota$, it is probable that the diphthong in late Hellenistic and Roman times was represented by a sound resembling German \bar{o} or \bar{u} . This later probably coalesced with υ and thus passed with υ to ι . Thus the modern Greek word $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is pronounced as *fénonte*, $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ as *thild*, $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ as *piúts*. The accompanying scheme will illustrate the movements of the Greek vowel system.

It will be remembered that two of the vowels concerned had already in Homeric times a journey behind them. The rounded \bar{u} derived from an original u , while the long open \bar{e} (η)

was the outcome of a change in the Ionic dialect of original \tilde{a} . These early changes were in accordance with the tendency that has resulted in the present grouping. All vowels tended to move towards the front and upwards. Consequently, as the scheme makes plain, the distinction between all but one

Homeric		Hellenistic		Modern	
	\tilde{a}	\tilde{a}	}	a	
	\tilde{a}	\tilde{a}			
Open	\tilde{o} (\omicron)	\tilde{o}			o
	\tilde{o} (ω)	\tilde{o}	}		
Close	\tilde{o} ($\omicron\nu$)				
	ou	$\tilde{o} > \tilde{u}$		u	
	\tilde{i}	}	}		
	\tilde{i}			\tilde{i}	
	oi	}	}		
	\tilde{i}			\tilde{i}	
	\tilde{i}	}	}	i	
	ei			i	
Close	\tilde{e} ($\epsilon\iota$)	}	}		
Open	\tilde{e} (η)				
	ai	}	}	e	
	\tilde{e}			e	

of the front vowels was broken down and in moving forward and upward, they have reached the place where they can move no further. It is true that the distinction of quantity has broken down, but the rounded \tilde{u} has disappeared, and in its place is a normal u derived from the coalescence of a secondary long close \tilde{o} with the original diphthong ou .

The ancient Greek consonantal system has changed in some of its essential features. The liquids and nasals generally speaking remain unchanged, as does the sibilant ζ (=Eng. z). σ is voiced before a voiced consonant. The double consonants, except in certain local dialects, have become single. The unvoiced stops (π , τ , κ) with certain exceptions remain. The voiced stops and the aspirates, which were a prominent and characteristic section of the ancient Greek consonantal system, have entirely altered in character, having become spirants. The aspirates ϕ , θ , χ have become unvoiced spirants (English f , th and German ch), while the voiced stops (β , δ , γ) have

been changed into the corresponding voiced sounds (English *v*, 'soft' *th*, and German spirantal *g* or English *j*, the latter before front vowels).

If the reason of these vocalic and consonantal changes be asked, there can be no satisfactory or adequate reply. All languages are subject to similar phonetic change, and indeed any language as an entity differentiated from others of the same family owes its existence to such phonetic changes more than to changes in morphology, structure or vocabulary, which in the long run depend and wait upon phonetic change. The tendency to move the vowels forward and upward seems always to have been a dominant tendency in the language. The change that brought about the spirants may have been due to inherent causes, it may have been the inevitable outcome of a slow scarcely appreciable shifting of the sound or emphasis of the aspirates. It may have been the result of some chance influence, for the growth of which the environment was favourable. At any rate it was gradual and would be unperceived by the speakers of the language in any given generation. Spirants as a whole however are a prominent feature of the modern European languages, and their development in Greek placed the language in conformity with others in this respect.

The date of the completion of the sound changes may be roughly determined. The mutual borrowing and transliteration that took place between Latin and Greek show clearly that the aspirates had not become spirants in the earliest Roman period. They are all transliterated in borrowed words as stops sometimes followed by *h* (e.g. *philosophia*, *Philippus*, *character*, *Corintus*, *thesaurus*). If the sound of ϕ had corresponded to the sound of Latin *f* we should have found a word *filo-sofia*, and similarly χ would have been represented by *h*. By the fourth century A.D. however this is what took place, and we find ϕ regularly represented in Latin by *f*. In the same century Bishop Ulfilas translated the Bible into Gothic, and from the fragments of this work that remain we find that the Gothic spirants were regularly used to transcribe the Greek aspirates. Examples are the names *Filippus* and *pomas*.

As early at least as the second century we find β used as the transcription of Latin *v*, but this may not indicate that β was pronounced entirely as a spirant, for it would be difficult to represent Latin *v* in Greek in any other way. Greater accuracy would be obtained by representing it by β than by a vocalic combination such as *ou* or by omitting it altogether. It is very likely that the voiced stops developed as spirants alongside of the aspirates and that they had a spirantal pronunciation by the fourth century A.D., but we have no absolutely certain evidence of the completion of the change until the ninth century, when the Cyrillic alphabet was formed for the use of the Slavs. This alphabet was based on Greek and in it the letter derived from β has the value of *v*, another similar symbol being invented to represent the voiced labial stop.

Whatever be the influences that changed the Greek aspirates and voiced stops into spirants, the change appears to have had occasional parallels in the ancient dialects. In Laconian θ represented some sort of spirant which was transcribed by Aristophanes for example as σ ($\sigma\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\sigma\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$ for $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$). In the modern Tsakonian dialect, which preserves certain features of Laconian, the sound in this position is the unvoiced sibilant σ . In ancient Laconian it may have been the dental spirant (Eng. *th* in *thin*). Again as early as the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the occasional omission of an intervocalic γ is found, giving in Attic forms such as $\delta\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\chi\iota\alpha$, $\delta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, and in Boeotian $\iota\acute{\omega}$ for $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$. The spirant in the Laconian dialect is not likely to have had any direct connection with the development of the aspirates into spirants, which took place long after the establishment of the Attic *κοινή* in which there was originally no trace of such a change. The omission of γ in forms such as those quoted above may represent a spirantal pronunciation which developed in certain dialects and persisted in the *κοινή*. There was certainly no change in the remaining two voiced stops till much later. The most that can be said is that such phenomena in the ancient dialects represent an early appearance of tendencies which later asserted themselves in the language.

In addition to these structural changes it is natural that further though less important vocalic and consonantal changes have taken place, largely under the influence of the stress accent. These have gone considerably further in the group of dialects known as Northern Greek, and it will be simpler to examine their results first in the case of the non-Northern dialects represented on the mainland by those of Attica and the Peloponnese. There is a tendency for the vowel *i*, whatever its origin, to become altered when unstressed. When before *ρ* the vowel usually becomes open and is represented by *ε* (as in ξερός (for ξηρός), θερίο, σίδερο). Under other circumstances unaccented *i* becomes *ου* (as in φουρίζω (for φηρίζω)), ζουλεύω (for ζηλεύω), έρχουμουν (for έρχόμην)). An unaccented vowel following a liquid or nasal disappears if the same vowel precedes (e.g. παρκάλω, ακλουθώ). An important element in the alteration and partial breakdown of the ancient vowel system is the fact that both front vowels, whatever their origin and orthography, become a semi-vowel or spirant (similar to English *y* and equal to *γ* before front vowels) whenever immediately followed by a back vowel. Thus όμοιάζω is pronounced *omyázō*, όποιος *ópyos*, φτώχεια *ftóhya*, γενέα *genyá*, παλαιός *palýós*, άγιος *ágyos*; έκοτίσασα becomes *ekóthyasa*, the accent being thrown back, a fact that shows that this phenomenon is not due to the stress accent but to a development of vocalic crasis. If a stressed front vowel originally fell in the penultimate syllable the accent is thrown forward on to the ultimate, as in βαρείά (*varyá*), έκκλησιά (*ekklesyá*). When a word ending in a vowel is immediately followed by a word beginning with a vowel, crasis takes place. The vowel *a* maintains itself above all others, and in order of strength it is followed by *o*, *u*, *e* and *i*. This is what would be expected in view of the weakness of the ancient front vowels illustrated by their coalescence. Examples of crasis are θά, 'χω (for έχω), άπ' αυτό (for άπό), τό 'χτισαν (for έχτισαν), έγώ 'μουνα (for ήμουνα), είν' δμορφη (for είναι), νά σοϋ 'πώ (for είπώ), τί 'δες (for είδες). An initial unaccented vowel, more often a front vowel, frequently disappears, as in γούμενος (for ήγούμενος), μέρα (for ήμέρα),

ψηλός (for ὑψηλός), βρίσκω (for εὐρίσκω), σπέρα (for ἐσπέρα), γίδι (for αἰγίδιον), δέν (for οὐδέν). As in prehistoric Greek prothesis sometimes takes place giving forms such as ἀνέφαλο, ἀσπήθι, ἀκρυφά. Again the front vowels, when initial, tend to be replaced by back vowels and *o* by *a*. Thus we find ἄντερα for ἔντερα, ἀλαφρός for ἑλαφρός, ἀπάνω for ἑπάνω, ἀπομονή for ὑπομονή, ὄχτρος for ἑχθρός, ἀρφανός for ὄρφανός, ὄχταπόδι for ὄκταπόδιον.

Consonantal changes in addition to the main ones already mentioned are slight. An unvoiced labial or velar originally combining with a following unvoiced dental (πτ and κτ) becomes a spirant, giving forms such as φτερό, φτωχός, ἀστράφτει, ἑφτά, κλέφτης, δάχτυλος, νύχτα, ὄχτώ. Unvoiced stops when following a nasal become voiced, and this combination (μπ, ντ, γκ) when initial dispenses almost entirely with the sound of the nasal, and is used in loan-words to express the voiced stop (e.g. μπαίνω, ντύνομαι, ντάμα, γκαλεριά, μπάγκα, Μπέκ). The same assimilation takes place when the nasal concludes a word and the stop commences another, and in such a case the nasal if necessary is also assimilated to the stop, so that a combination such as τὸν πατέρα is pronounced *tombatéra*. In many dialects the unvoiced velar (κ) is palatalised before front vowels, becoming a sound similar to English *ch* or one that might be represented by *ts*. The unvoiced dental and velar spirants become stops when immediately following an unvoiced sibilant or spirant, and in certain dialects the corresponding labial spirant (φ) also changes to a stop after *s*. This results in forms such as αἰσάνομαι, φτάνω, ἑχτρός, μόσκος, εὐκή. If the unvoiced labial spirant precedes the unvoiced sibilant, the former becomes a stop (e.g. ἐδούλεψα, ἔπαψα, ἡ κάψι (καῦσις)). The voiced velar spirant when intervocalic generally disappears, thus: λέω 'I speak'; ῥολοῖ 'clock', from ὥρο-λόγιον. On the other hand the reverse process sometimes takes place, a glide appearing between two vowels and being represented in writing by γ (e.g. ἀγέρας, θεγός, ἀκούγω). The voiced labial and velar spirants disappear before the labial nasal, leaving such forms as μάλαμα from

μόλαγμα, πῤῥα from πῤῥγμα, θῤῥα from θαῤῥα, ῥέμα from ῥεῤῥα. Very often the unvoiced sibilant *s* becomes before the vowel *i* or the corresponding semi-vowel a sound similar to English *sh*, giving forms such as εἰκοσι, and this is parallel to the development of the same sound in the northern neighbour of Greek, Albanian. When the liquid *λ* precedes a consonant it becomes *ρ* as in ἀδερφός, ἐπρίδα, ἥρθα. Before the unvoiced spirants the nasals disappear, as in νύφη, πεθερός, ἄθρωπος, ἄθός. A final *v* is pronounced only if the following word begins with a vowel or with a stop or double consonant, so that we may contrast τὸν ἄθρωπο, τὴν εἶδα, τὴν πίστι, with τὸ φίλο, τὴ γυναῖκα, τὴ βλέπω.

The modern Greek accent is a stress accent, placed generally speaking on the same syllable as the ancient pitch. The three-syllable law of accent is still to a certain extent in force. The throwing forward of the accent due to a long ultimate syllable no longer takes place universally, so that certain adjectives whose nominative singular termination ends in -ος and genitive in -ου bear a uniform accent throughout. When in the course of inflexion an additional syllable is given to a stem the accent in certain dialects remains on the same syllable of the stem although it is the fourth syllable from the end (e.g. ἔφαγα, ἔφαγαμε). There is no difference between circumflex and acute, the orthography being merely a survival from ancient Greek.

In addition to the changes mentioned there is great phonetic variety in detail between the local dialects, which are numerous. The group of Northern dialects for example carries vocalic weakening in varying degrees considerably further than the rest, and in some of these patois unaccented *e* has become *i*, unaccented *o* has become *u*, and unaccented *i* and *u* have disappeared. We therefore find forms such as παιδί for παιδί, τσί for καί, κερδιμένους for κερδέμενος, ποῦς for πῶς, ζήτσιν for ἐζήτησεν, ἄφε for ἄφηκε, φλάξ for φυλάξης, πγάδ for πηγάδι, πιθάν for πεθάνη, ζμί for ζουμί, δλέβ for δουλεύει, ἔκοα for ἔκουσα. Further assimilation of consonants sometimes takes place in the forms thus reduced, so that we find what at first seem unrecognisable forms such as θκός for δικός,

φκέντρ for βουκέντρι, ξφχε for ξφυγε, ψή for ψυχή. This is really no more than an exaggeration of phenomena that take place in every language in which a strong stress accent rules, and not least in our own, though concealed beneath an unchanging orthography.

Modern Greek morphology shows, as might have been expected, a simplification and confusion of the ancient Greek forms. The dative case has disappeared. The nominative singular termination of all masculine nouns is in -s, and the declensions are as follows:

Singular

<i>Nom.</i>	-ος	-ας	-ης	-ας	-ης	-ις	-ες	-ους
<i>Voc.</i>	-ε	-α	-α	-η	-α	-η	-ε	-οῦ
<i>Acc.</i>	-ο	-α	-α	-η	-ᾱ	-ῆ	-έ	-οῦ
<i>Gen.</i>	-ου	-α	-ου	-η	-ᾱ	-ῆ	-έ	-οῦ

Plural

<i>Nom.</i>	-οι	-εις	-οι	-εις	-οι	-ᾶδες	-ῆδες	-ιδες	-έδες	-ιδες	-οῦδες
<i>Acc.</i>	-ους	-εις	-ους	-εις	-ους	-ᾶδες	-ῆδες	-ιδες	-έδες	-ιδες	-οῦδες
<i>Gen.</i>	-ω(ν)	-ω(ν)	-ω(ν)	-ῶ(ν)	-ω(ν)	-ᾶδω(ν)	-ῆδω(ν)	-ιδω(ν)	-έδω(ν)	-ιδω(ν)	-οῦδω(ν)

Not all nouns are declined uniformly, several admitting of more than one plural form, parisyllabic and imparisyllabic.

The paradigms of feminine nouns are even simpler:

Singular

<i>Nom.</i>	-α	-η	-ι	-ο	-οῦ	-ε
<i>Acc.</i>	-α	-η	-ι	-ο	-οῦ	-ε
<i>Gen.</i>	-ας	-ης	-ις	-ος	-ους	-ες

Plural

<i>Nom.</i>	-εις	-εις	-εις	-οῦδες	-εδες
<i>Acc.</i>	-εις	-εις	-εις	-οῦδες	-εδες
<i>Gen.</i>	-ω(ν)	-ω(ν)	-ω(ν)	-οῦδω(ν)	-εδω(ν)

Some of the neuter declensions recall the ancient language as the following scheme will show:

Singular

<i>Nom. and Acc.</i>	-ο	-ι	-ος	-α	-ο	-ας
<i>Gen.</i>	-ου	-ιου	-ους	-ατου	-ατου	-ατου

Plural

<i>Nom. and Acc.</i>	-α	-ια	-η	-ατα	-ατα	-ατα
<i>Gen.</i>	-ω(ν)	-ιω(ν)	-ω(ν)	-ατω(ν)	-ατω(ν)	-ατω(ν)

The masculine and neuter -ο- stems stand nearest to the ancient Greek declension, and those in -ας and -ης correspond to the masculines of the old first declension. The plural has in each case been assimilated to that of the -ο- stems, a very natural phenomenon in the case of masculine nouns. The nouns in -ας arose from third declension nouns in ancient Greek. The first change probably took place in the accusative, forms such as πατέρων beginning to appear in the papyri of Hellenistic times. This form having become established by analogy with the accusatives of the -ο- and first declension -α- stems, a nominative in -ς was formed on the same analogy and a genitive terminating in a vowel giving the forms πατέρας, πατέρα, πατέρα. The final -ν of the accusative singular then disappeared except under certain circumstances in accordance with the phonetic laws of modern Greek, as also did that of the genitive plural. In plurals deriving from the old third declension forms the accusative became assimilated to the nominative. All imparisyllabic plurals were assimilated to the forms in -δ-. In the case of the feminines the nominative singular of nouns deriving from third declension stems was assimilated to that of the feminines of the first declension in -α and -η in convenient contrast to the -ς termination of the masculines. Feminines in -ο arise from the ancient feminine -ο- stems (with nominative in -ος) and those in -ου from the ancient feminines in -ω. Those in -ε constitute a new formation, most of the examples being Turkish loan-words. Such stems in -ε were easily adaptable to the scheme of feminine declension as reconstituted. All feminine nouns take plural terminations that originally belong to the third declension only. The declension of θάλασσα in modern Greek is as follows:

θάλασσα	θάλασσες
θάλασσα	θάλασσες
θάλασσας	θαλασσῶ(ν)

The processes of assimilation in the case of the neuter substantives can also be easily traced. One declension alone remains unassimilated, that of the neuters in -ος, which except for the omission of the dative (and of course the dual) remain

unchanged in declension. Such words however sometimes show a plural in -ια in addition to that in -η, forms being found such as ἀνθια, βάρια, πάρια, στήθια.

The declension of adjectives in -ος in the three genders follows that of the nouns, but in addition there are adjectives in -υς such as βαθύς, whose terminations are as follows:

	Singular			Plural		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
<i>Nom.</i>	-ύς	-ειά	-ύ	-ειοί	-εῖς	-ειά
<i>Acc.</i>	-ύ	-ειά	-ύ	-ειούς	-εῖς	-ειά
<i>Gen.</i>	-ειοῦ	-εῖας	-ειοῦ	-εἰῶ(ν)	-εἰῶ(ν)	-εἰῶ(ν)

A very curious confusion of ancient declensions is shown in the following adjectival terminations:

	Singular			Plural		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
<i>Nom.</i>	-ις	-α	-ικο	-ιδες	-ιδες	-ικα
<i>Acc.</i>	-ι	-α	-ικο	-ιδες	-ιδες	-ικα
<i>Gen.</i>	-ι	-ας	-ικου	-ιδω(ν)	-ιδω(ν)	-ικω(ν)
<i>Nom.</i>	-ης	-ισσα	-ικο	-ηδες	-ισσες	-ικα
<i>Acc.</i>	-η	-ισσα	-ικο	-ηδες	-ισσες	-ικα
<i>Gen.</i>	-η	-ισσας	-ικου	-ηδω(ν)	-ισσω(ν)	-ικω(ν)

Comparative forms in -τερος still occur in certain dialects, but the most common way of forming the comparative is to prefix πρὸ to the positive. The superlative is formed by prefixing the article to the comparative.

Pronominal forms show similar assimilation and some newly-evolved forms occur, such as τέτοιος, -α, -ο 'such', κανείς or κανένας, καμιά, κανένα 'any', καθείς or καθένας 'each', κάμπος, -η, -ο 'some'.

It is in the development of the verbal system that modern Greek has most distinctively broken with its ancestry and brought itself into line with the Romance languages. The middle voice has disappeared, but its functions have very largely been taken over by the passive. Deponents still exist and reflexive verbs are in the passive form (e.g. λούζομαι 'I bathe', ξουρίζομαι 'I shave', ἀγκαλιάζονται 'they embrace'). Tenses which survive with comparatively little change from ancient Greek are in the active the present, imperfect

and aorist, both present and aorist having an accompanying subjunctive and imperative. The terminations of the present and of the subjunctives are as follows: -ω, -εις, -ει, -ομε or -ουμε, -ετε, -ου or -ουτε. The terminations of the imperfect and aorist are: -α, -ες, -ε, -αμε, -ατε or -ετε, -αν or -ανε. The second person singular and plural terminations of the imperative are -ε, -ετε, the other persons being taken from the subjunctive. The subjunctive, in the present indistinguishable in sound from the indicative, is invariably preceded by a conjunction such as *νά*, *ἄς* or *θά*. The majority of verbs show a sigmatic aorist, but this mode of formation has not succeeded in uniformly ousting all others. Aorists are still formed from the pure verb stem as opposed to the present in such verbs as infix a nasal to form the present (e.g. *φέρνω*, *ἔφερα*); and also by vowel gradation (e.g. *φεύγω*, *ἔφυγα*). The terminations, it will be noticed, are those of the ancient sigmatic aorist, which have spread to the imperfect, the two tenses differing only in stem, as was the case in the ancient language with the imperfects and 'strong' aorists.

The passive terminations are generally as follows: in the present -ομαι, -εσαι, -εται, -ομαστε or -ουμαστε or -μεστε, -εστε, -ονται; in the imperfect -ομουν, or -ομουν, -ουσουν, or -οσουν, -ουνταν or -οτου or -οταν, -ομαστε or -μεστε or -μεστα or -ομαστε, -οσατε or -ουστε, -ουνταν or -οντουσαν; in the aorist -θηκα, -θηκες, -θηκε, -θηκαμε, -θηκατε, -θηκαν. This last is a remnant of the formation of the aorist passive in -θη- in ancient Greek with the addition of active terminations. The second person imperative terminations are in the present -ου, -εστε, and in the aorist -ου, -ητε.

The remaining tenses of the verb are formed with the use of auxiliaries. In addition to the future simple and future perfect tenses modern Greek has developed an aorist future. In doing so it has preserved a fundamental underlying principle of the tense system of the ancient language, itself, as has been observed in a previous chapter, derived from Indo-European times. This is the distinction between continuous and completed action, which is fully expressed by the modern Greek verb in the use of its present and aorist stems. The future perfect is not in frequent use, as was the case in

the ancient language. The aorist future on the contrary is very often in use. It expresses an intended definite or complete action in the future (e.g. Γραικὸς θανά πῆθάνω 'a Greek will I die'), while the future simple expresses an action to be repeated or to be continuous in the future (e.g. θανά σοῦ στέλλω μάλαμα 'I will (habitually) send you gold'). The aorist indicative itself is used not only to express a definite action in the past, in which case, as in ancient Greek, it may cover also the meaning of the pluperfect, but also an action recently completed whose effect is still present. In such a case most modern European languages would employ the perfect. This usage also was not unknown in ancient Greek, while the confusion of aorist and perfect in Hellenistic times and the final disappearance of the latter threw upon the aorist work that the perfect had been accustomed to do. The differentiation in meaning¹ between the present and aorist stems extends also to the subjunctive and imperative. In classical Greek there was a clear distinction between present and aorist imperative, but it was more hazy in the case of the subjunctive. In the time of the New Testament a preference for aorist subjunctive forms over present appears, and this is still the case in modern Greek, the reason being in the latter case at least that hypothetical action is more often regarded as complete and definite than as repeated or continuous.

The two futures are formed by the prefixing of the conjunction or particle θά to the present and aorist subjunctive respectively. This word is a contraction of θέλω νά ('I wish to'), which apparently passed through the stages θενά > θανά > θά. Variations occur in some dialects.

The perfect is formed by the present tense of ἔχω followed either by the participial form -μένο or by an invariable form in -σει, which derives from an aorist infinitive with present termination. The pluperfect is formed in exactly the same way, the imperfect εἶχα being substituted for the present. The future perfect is also formed similarly by the future θά ἔχω followed by the same alternative forms. In accordance with the tendency of the Romance and other modern languages Greek has developed conditional tenses, formed by auxiliaries.

¹ Called by the German philologists *Aktionsart*.

The present conditional ('I should') is formed by prefixing $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ to the imperfect indicative, or the imperfect of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ ($\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$) to the invariable $-\sigma\alpha\iota$. The past conditional is formed by $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ with the aorist indicative, or by $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\iota\chi\alpha$ followed by the participle or the form in $-\sigma\alpha\iota$. Other combinations of the auxiliaries in both conditional tenses occur. In the passive¹ the auxiliary tenses are formed in the same way except that the passive forms of the verb are used, and in place of $\epsilon\chi\omega$ the forms of the verb 'to be' are used. This verb is conjugated in modern Greek as follows: Present $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$, Imperfect $\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ or $\eta\tau\alpha\nu$, $\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$ or $\eta\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$, $\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$ or $\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$, $\eta\tau\alpha\nu$ or $\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon$.

A feature of the modern Greek verb system strangely in contrast with that of the ancient language is the disappearance of the infinitive, for which the subjunctive does duty, and the reduction of the rich system of participles to two. These are an active present participle in $-\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ and a perfect participle in $-\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$, passive in meaning in the case of transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs occasionally show a $-\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$ form.

We have seen in former chapters that the two characteristics of the ancient language which seem to have been most prominent were its extensive use of participles and its capacity to form compounds. The former, as has just been pointed out, has been lost to the modern language, but the latter remains as effectual as ever. In the ancient language compounds consisting of a noun and verb stem such as $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ were frequent. In modern Greek these are retained, but even more frequent are combinations of adjective and verb such as $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\omega}$ 'I live well', $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\omicron\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'I move slowly', $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omega$ 'I open a little', $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omega}$ 'I kiss affectionately'. Verbs denoting related or contrasted action may be combined in a compound, such as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omicron\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'I open and shut', $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\beta\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ 'I pace up and down', $\tau\rho\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\beta\acute{\eta}\nu\omega$ 'I tremble and die away'. In addition to compounds of which a verb stem forms an element, there are

¹ The old passive endings are now mainly used in deponent verbs, and a new passive formation in $-\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ has developed, but is rarely used in speech.

compounds which consist of two noun stems, such as μαχαίρο-πέrouνο 'knife and fork', άντρώγουνο 'man and wife', γυναί-κόπαιδα 'wives and children'; or compounds in which one noun defines the other such as: καμαροφρύδι 'eyebrow', νοικοκύρις 'master of the house', ήλιοβασίλεμα 'sunset', κλεφτοπόλεμος 'war with bandits', πετρότοπος 'stony place', άνεμόμυλος 'windmill', κρεββατοκάμερα 'sleeping-room'. An adjective and noun may be combined: γεροντοκόριτσο 'old maid', κακοκαιριά 'bad weather'. There are also adjectival compounds consisting of adjective and adjective, adjective and substantive, or substantive and substantive. Such are: μαυροκόκκινος 'dark red', όλάνοιχτος 'wide open', δεκά-διπλος 'tenfold', μαρμαροχτισμένος 'built of marble', άξιο-σπούδαστος 'worthy to strive after', καλόκαρδος 'good-hearted', βαρειόμοιρος 'unlucky', μαυρομάτης 'black-eyed'. In addition verbs compounded with prepositions still form a prominent characteristic of the language, the prepositions so used being άπο-, μετά-, κατά-, παρά-, άνα-, ξε- (from έξ) and ξανα- (a combination of έξ and άνά). Examples are: άπο-λύνω 'I release', μεταφιλώ 'I kiss once more', κατεβαίνω 'I descend', παραδίδω 'I surrender', άναμένω 'I await', ξεβιδώνω 'I unscrew', ξανακάνω 'I do once more'.

The elaborate prepositional system of ancient Greek has to a very great extent broken down. With the exception of a few set phrases every preposition in modern Greek governs the accusative. The following are the prepositions in use, all of which generally speaking retain the meaning they had in the ancient language: εις, άπό, μέ (from μετά), γιά (from διά), κατά, άντίς, ώς, χωρίς, δίχως. Of these κατά is much restricted in use. All sense of 'down' or 'against' has disappeared. It retains its meaning of 'according to' and in addition has the sense of 'towards', sharing with εις the simpler usages of the lost preposition πρός. The instrument is denoted by μέ (e.g. έκοψα μέ τώ μαχαίρι 'I cut with my knife'). The preposition άπό with the accusative is used after comparatives to express 'than', e.g. ό Γιώργις είναι μεγαλύτερος άπό τώ Γιάννη 'George is taller than John'. The same may be expressed by παρά with the nominative, e.g. καλύτερα

μιάς ὥρας ἐλευθέρῃ ζωῇ παρά σαράντα χρόνων σκλαβιά 'better one hour of liberty than forty years of slavery'. It will be remembered that in the New Testament παρά is used in a sense approximating to this (e.g. ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρά τὸν Κτίσαντα). The meaning of the prepositions is made more explicit when necessary by the prefixing to them of certain words such as πέρα, ἔξω, κάτω, etc. In accordance with the tendency of all modern Indo-European languages many of the functions of the old oblique cases have been taken over by prepositions. The accusative is naturally the least affected, retaining perhaps the majority of its former functions. The indirect object is expressed by the genitive (e.g. ἔδωκε τῆς μικρῆς τὸ γράμμα), or by the preposition εἰς with the accusative; but in some of the Northern dialects by the accusative (e.g. εἶπεν τὸ λεοντάρ τὸν πάρδον 'the lion said to the cat', γυναῖκα σ κρυφὸ νὰ μὴν πῆς 'tell your wife no secret'). The nominative is used in an interesting and natural way at the beginning of the sentence to express the actual though not grammatical subject (e.g. ὁ κυνηγός, σὰν τ' ἄκουσε, πολὺ τοῦ κακοφάνη 'when the huntsman heard it, it vexed him much').

The modern Greek vernacular is split into a variety of local dialects, which may be grouped in two main divisions, a Northern and a Southern. The Southern group according to Hatzidakis¹ covers the following area: the Peloponnese with the exception of northern Achaea, Megara, Attica, the Cyclades with the exception of Tenos and part of Andros, Crete, Chios, the southern Sporades and Cyprus. The Northern dialects are spoken in the following: Euboea, the mainland north of the Isthmus, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, the coast of the Sea of Marmora, the northern Sporades, Samos and Lesbos. The Northern dialects are characterised by the vocalic changes due to the stress accent before noticed. In addition to these two groups are the dialects of southern Italy and those of Pontus, Cappadocia and Taurus in Asia Minor.

The chief characteristics of the dialects in southern Italy²

¹ *Neugriechische Grammatik*, p. 342.

² Discussed by H. F. Tozer in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, x (1889), pp. 11 ff.

are the palatalisation of κ , the change of $\lambda\lambda$ to dd under the influence of neighbouring Italian dialects, which have also caused a frequent change of o to ou . The consonants ν and ς in all inflexions when final disappear¹ unless the succeeding word begins with a vowel or in the case of ν with a velar. Verbs having vowel stems infix ν in the present (e.g. κλάνω for κλάω). In addition to δέν, the normal form of the negative particle, there are forms δέ, έν, and έ. In the district round Otranto the consonants κ γ τ δ β ν disappear when intervocalic giving forms such as πλέω for πλέκω or πρόατα for πρόβατα. In the dialect of Bova z (pronounced dz) is frequently substituted for ξ and ψ giving forms such as $z\phi\eta$ for $\psi\eta\chi\eta$. The ancient termination of the third person plural -ουσι occurs in addition to the modern -ουν. There are also certain words in use in southern Italy which were of normal or common use in the ancient language, but have disappeared in modern Greek elsewhere. In the Otranto district the old feminine plural forms of the definite article, $\alpha\iota$ and $\tau\alpha\varsigma$, remain in use.

In the dialects of Asia Minor more complicated peculiarities exist. Certain of them have been fully discussed by R. M. Dawkins,² who also gives a list of the districts where such dialects were spoken before the recent shift of population. This comprises Pontus, the district of Shabin-Karahisar near the source of the Halys, Ak Dagħ north of the Halys, Bulgar Maden in the Taurus, Leivisi in Lycia, two small regions in Bithynia, Pharasa in the anti-Taurus east of Nigde, certain villages in Cappadocia, and the village of Silli near Konia. In the dialect of Silli the following peculiarities occur: the vowels e and o in terminations become i and u (e.g. $\xi\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$, $\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$); in the conjugation of certain verbs the principles of the Turkish vowel-harmony are introduced, so that while a verb such as $\beta\alpha\sigma\lambda\alpha\delta\omega$ is conjugated -ας, -α, one such as $\delta\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\nu\delta\omega$ shows -ες, -ε in conformity with these principles; τ and σ are palatalised before primary i

¹ Instead in certain dialects they are retained and ϵ added.

² In the *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, xxx (1910), pp. 109 ff. and 267 ff.; and in his book *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*.

(e.g. ὅτι, ἔχουσι; ν and λ are *mouillé* before ι (e.g. βουní); χ before front vowels becomes δ (e.g. ὅξι); intervocalic θ and δ become σ and ρ (e.g. σύρα, ρῶκι for ἔδωκε, παίρι); the article survives in the accusative only except for the relics of a nominative before neuter nouns; the plural of most masculine substantives terminates in -ρι; adjectives in -ας which are Turkish loan-words show a feminine in -ασσα; there is a demonstrative meaning 'this' of the form τίδς; there is a very curious imperfect formation in -ινοσκα or -ινόνισκα (e.g. κλαίνόνισκα); the pluperfect is formed on a Turkish model. Turkish words in the vocabulary are naturally very frequent, an interrogative particle μι is borrowed from Turkish, and the possessive genitive precedes the noun, which is the Turkish order. In the dialects of the Cappadocian villages the vowels *i* and *u* disappear when final (e.g. σπῑτ for σπῑρι), the Turkish vowel-harmony is in operation in conjugation, a final voiced consonant becomes unvoiced as in Turkish, and the dental spirants θ and δ undergo varied treatment, appearing sometimes as *t* and *d*, sometimes as χ and ζ. Palatalisation of the unvoiced velar stop before front vowels occurs generally. The most usual formation for neuter substantives is in -ι. Adjectives have lost all distinction of gender and the genitive case. Prof. Dawkins shows that most of the more violent grammatical changes are of quite recent date, and that Turkish was fast gaining ground over the scattered Greek dialects that remained.

All these dialects are based upon the Attic κοινή of Hellenistic times, which in the early centuries of the Christian era completely ousted the ancient dialects. The only possible exception is in the case of the ancient Laconian, certain traits of which may survive in the modern Tsakonian.¹

The language with which we have been dealing in this chapter is the spoken vernacular, the living Greek of the present day. Changed as it necessarily is from the Greek of Homer or of classical times, even from the Greek of the papyri, it retains at least one familiar characteristic of the language that the student of the ancient literature knows and

¹ For a summary of the peculiarities of this dialect see P. G. P. Anagnostopoulos in *Byzant. Neugriech. Jahrb.* Beiheft 5 (1926), pp. 1 ff.

loves. This is the capacity and liking for the formation of compounds. The old structure of the language, the principles upon which it was constituted in Homer's day, have so little broken down that the language is still quite distinctly Greek, not in name only but in form and essence. We shall be amazed if we contrast this with what is the case with other languages. English as a language only gradually differentiated itself from other continental dialects between the sixth and eleventh centuries A.D., and it has changed more in the last eight hundred years than has Greek in the whole course of its history. Latin died in the dark ages in giving birth to the Romance languages, each of which is distinct from the others and from the parent. Yet the Greek language has shown itself open to the linguistic influences that with the decline of the ancient world tended to break down the old inflexional system, to introduce auxiliaries in conjugation, to extend the use of prepositions in place of the ancient cases, to substitute stress accent for pitch. The language is still Greek, but it has become Modern Greek, and the name is appropriate as a true description of the state of the language. The contrast with English and Latin illustrates once again the point that in studying linguistic change should never be forgotten—the intimate connection between language and social and political conditions. The two great periods of change in the English language came with the effects of the Norman conquest and with the Renaissance and Reformation in the time of the Tudors. The decline and break-up of Latin came with the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the semi-barbarian kingdoms of western Europe in its place. No such violent change has overtaken the Greek people. The irruption of Slavs into Greece in the seventh and eighth centuries might have accomplished a linguistic revolution had it had any permanent effect on Greek national life, but the centre of gravity was in Constantinople and the long stagnation of the Byzantine Empire gave stability to the language. Since its fall linguistic influences from western Europe, as well of course as from Turkish, have been brought to bear on the language.

During the Byzantine rule the continuance of the artificial

literary language contributed to the static condition of the whole. As far back as the days of the Ionic prose of Herodotus and his predecessors we saw that the language of literature was differentiated from that of everyday speech to a greater extent than was required merely for grammatical expression and easy flow of style. In modern Greek this is still the case. During the last hundred years the attempts to revive the glories of the past and to provide a visible link with them have caused the appearance of an artificial literary language, based as far as possible upon Attic and Byzantine prose and admitting the vocabulary and constructions of the vernacular in varying degrees. Two schools have always existed among modern Greek writers, those who wished by the use of this literary language to force the Greek tongue back to where it was two thousand years ago, and those who recognise that the life of a language lies in the everyday phrase on the lips of the ordinary speaker. The controversy is acute at the present moment, the desire to make the connection with classical times being stronger than ever in certain quarters, but naturally the spoken language is gaining ground. A language will not be forced, any more than in the long run economic laws can be tampered with. Too much pressure may kill it, it cannot change its course. The classicists have won in the matter of orthography, and the phonetic changes that have taken place, notably those in the vowels, are concealed beneath a spelling careful to distinguish with accuracy ι and ει and η and υ, although phonetically all represent the same sound. The tourist who sees on the offices in Constitution Square at Athens the world-famous name Θωμάς Κουκ καὶ Υἱός would be shocked to learn that the last word spells what in English might be written *yoss*. The orthography has this advantage, that it enables the foreigner acquainted with ancient Greek to understand much of a Greek newspaper, but it cannot fail to be a severe handicap upon speakers of the language themselves who desire to learn to write it.

It is possible to trace the development of the language through the middle ages from the variety of poetical texts that have come down to us, a large collection of which has

been made by E. Legrand in his *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire* in ten volumes. One or two extracts only can be made here. The following are the opening lines of Michael Glycas' poem¹ on his imprisonment, dating from the middle of the twelfth century:

Ἦμουν παιδὶν, ἐγήρασα, πολὺν διήλθον κόσμον.
 σοφῶν ἀρχαίων ἤκουσα, πολλὰς ἀνέγνω βίβλους.
 πάντων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονα, πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξεύρον,
 πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικὰ καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων
 ἠκριβωσάμην, ὃ φασιν, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν δυνύχων,
 τὴν γνῶσιν σχεῖν πειρώμενος πάντων καὶ τῶν τυχόντων,
 ὥς μὴ καταβαπτίζεσθαι βυθῷ τῆς ἀγνωσίας.
 Ὡς δέ τις μεγαλέμπορος θέλων πολλὰ κερδήσαι,
 δεινοῦ παντός ὑπερορᾷ, κατατολμᾷ θαλάσσης,
 καὶ τὰ φρικτὰ καταφρονεῖ χάσματα τῶν κυμάτων,
 καὶ πορρωτάτῳ στέλλεται πάντως ριψοκινδύνος·
 οὕτως εἰς πλάτος ἑμαυτὸν ἀφῆκα τὸ τοῦ λόγου,
 κάκειθεν ὅλον φορυτὸν χρυσίου καὶ μαγάρων,
 καὶ θησαυρὸν πολυόλβον ἐπλούτησα τὴν γνῶσιν,
 πολὺν ἐμπορευσάμενος ταύτην τὴν ἐμπορίαν.

This language is closer to the ancient than the modern. The vowel ι is still accented in words such as γραϊδίων or ἐμπορίαν, and the metre shows that it was pronounced as a vowel and stressed. On the other hand the form παιδὶν has already developed from παιδίων. The infinitive and the dative case are still in use. Most modern is the opening word ἤμουν, the past tense of the verb 'to be'.

A considerable change had taken place by the time of the composition of the *Chronicle of the Morea*,² an anonymous epic of the fourteenth century, from which the following lines are taken:

Ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἔστειλεν στὸν δοῦκαν τῆς Ἀσίας,
 στοὺς τρεῖς ἀφέντες Εὐρίπου καὶ ὅλων τῶν νησίων,
 νὰ ἔλθουσι μὲ ἄρματα καὶ δύναμιν φουσσάτου·
 κι ἀφότου ἀπεσώσασιν ἐκεῖσε τὰ φουσσᾶτα,
 ἐδιόρθωσεν ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸν παρακαθισμὸν του.
 Λοιπὸν, ὥς ἐνι τὸ βουνὶν τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Κορίνθου
 πλατὺ καὶ μέγαν, φοβερόν, κι ἄνω ἐνι τὸ κάστρον,

¹ E. Legrand, *op. cit.* 1, p. 18.

² Edited by John Schmitt, 1904.

εὐρίσκεται πρὸς μεσηβρίαν ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ κάστρου
 ὁκάτι ἓνα βουνόπλαγον, τραχώνι γὰρ καὶ σπηλαιοι.
 Ἐνταῦτα ὀρίζει ὁ πρίγκιπας καὶ ἄνω χτίζουσι κάστρον,
 Μοῦντ' Ἐσκουβὲ τὸ ὠνόμαζαν, οὕτως τὸ λέγουσι πάλιν·
 καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν μερίαν, τὸ λέγουσιν πρὸς ἄρκτον,
 ὁ Μέγας Κύρης ἔπαικε κάστρον ἐκεῖ ἐδικὸν του. 2796-808.

Iota before a vowel had now become regularly consonantal, as the metre shows in words such as μερίαν (*meryan*), μεσηβρίαν (*meseevryan*) or ἐδιόρθωσεν. Vowel elision has made its appearance. Thus in line 2805 the scansion runs: *Endáflha rízo pringipas*. The change of the former of two neighbouring unvoiced stops to a spirant had taken place, an example in the passage quoted being the form χτίζουσι. The dative has disappeared, and already ἀπό governs the accusative. On the other hand the expression μεθ' ὅρκου occurs. It should not be concluded on the evidence of these and other poems that the changes noted took place definitely between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Glycas' poem was written within the Byzantine Empire, the Chronicle in a part of Greece which was in the hands of the Franks. Naturally in Byzantium where the historical connection with the ancient world was unbroken the language was more conservative, and there were literary standards to which even popular compositions would be expected to some extent to conform. In the Morea the language would be free from such influences and able to develop more speedily along its own lines. At the same time the surviving texts show that the beginning of the fourteenth century¹ may be regarded roughly as a landmark in the process of phonetic change.

The following passage comes from a poem² by Manthos of Janina upon the *Conquest of the Morea by the Turks*, written in the second half of the eighteenth century, not later than 1768:

Τὸν Καραμουσταφᾶ πασιᾶ ὠρδίνισσε καὶ στέλλει
 νὰ πᾶ 'ς τὴν Πάτραν γλήγορα νὰ πάρῃ τὸ καστέλλι·
 καὶ παρευθὺς ἐπρόσταξεν ἀνθρώπους νὰ συμπαῖσι,
 ἢ Κακὴ Σκάλα νὰ φτειαστῇ κανόνια νὰ περάσῃ·
 'ς τὸ Δράπανο ἔρριβάρισε, καὶ εἶδε τὸ καστέλλι,
 καὶ παρευθὺς σηκώθηκε, νὰ πᾶ κοντά του θέλει·

¹ On the other hand there is some evidence that change had taken place in the spoken language some time before it becomes evident in writing.

² E. Legrand, *op. cit.* iii, pp. 280 ff.

καὶ ὅτι ἐξύγωσε κοντά, κ' εἶδε τὸ ἀρματοῦμένον,
τὸ πρόσωπόν του ἔγεινε σὰν τὸν ἀποθαμμένον,
ὁ βεζήρης τὸν ἔστειλε μὲ ὀρδινιά μεγάλη,
ἀν δὲν τοῦ στείλει τὰ κλειδιά τοῦ κόφει τοῦ κεφάλι. 779-88.

The language of this poem has entirely modern characteristics. Elision takes place as in Δράπανο'ρριβάρισε, and ι before a vowel are consonantal, as is illustrated by the fourth line (l. 782). The forms κοντά and σὰν exemplify the modern vocabulary.

A piece of Greek prose¹ of the twentieth century is interesting in the resemblances to, and contrasts with, Attic prose of the classical period that it provides:

Ποῖός μὲ κάποια σκέψι φωτεινὴ καὶ μὲ κάποια γνώμη ἀνεπηρέαστη θὰ μπορούσε νὰ εἰπῇ, πῶς φιλολογία δὲν ὑπάρχει στὸν τόπο μας; Αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος εἶναι βέβαια καλὸτυχος, γιατί μὲ τὸ σωρὸ τοὺς βγάξει τοὺς ἐμεικτοὺς ἀεροκοπανιστάδες τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἐμμετρῶν φλυαριῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀνήθικους, ποὺ ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἔχουν ὅπλα ἰσόβαρα γιὰ νὰ χτυπήσουν τὰ ἔργα ποὺ τοὺς κάθονται στὸ στομάχι, παίρνουν ἅγιες καὶ ἱερές ἰδέες καὶ πίσω ἀπ' αὐτὲς ταμπουριώνονται καὶ κλεφτοπόλεμο στένουν κατὰ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ λυσσαλέα μετατοπίζουν τὰ ζητήματα καὶ μοιάζουν ἐκείνους, ποὺ σκεπάζουνε μὲ τὴν ἐθνικὴ σημαία τὰ πῖο χυδαῖα τοὺς γλεντοκοπήματα, τὰ πάθη τοὺς τὰ πλέον ἀνίεδα. 'Ὅμως αὐτὸς ὁ ἴδιος τόπος ἔχει τὸ ἀτύχημα μέσα του νὰ κρατῇ καὶ κάποια ὀνόματα, ποὺ κάπως δείχνουν, πῶς ἀγάγια ἀγάγια σαλεύουνε κ' ἐδῶ καὶ περπατοῦν καὶ ὑψώνονται τὰ φιλολογικά μας, καὶ ἴσως γενναιότερα καὶ ὠραιότερα ἀπὸ ἄλλοτε.

The following is a translation of this passage:

'Who is there with any power of clear reflection or with an unbiassed mind who will be able to say that literature does not exist in our country? The country is very fortunate in that it throws off in heaps nauseating swaggers, the authors of gossip in prose and verse, and other such immoral persons, who since they have no weapons equal to dashing away the works which weigh on their stomachs, take holy and sacred themes, entrench themselves behind them and carry on guerilla warfare against the strong, rabidly distorting the questions at issue and resembling those who cover with the national banner their most filthy debaucheries and their most ignorant passions. Yet the same country has the misfortune to retain within it some names which somehow show that little by little they are moving even here, advancing and raising our literature to a higher level, even perhaps nobler and more beautiful than before.'

¹ From 'Η φιλολογία μας by K. Παλαμᾶς (1902) quoted by A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Mod. Gk. Vernacular*, pp. 278 ff. This is an artificial written language, of a kind probably never spoken.

If we attempt to contrast the manner in which a classical writer would have expressed the same ideas, we shall understand at once something of the resemblances and differences that exist between ancient and modern Greek. There are distinctions of morphology, syntax and style. The change of *τίς* to *ποιός* is one natural to all languages, the more emphatic word being employed in the first instance for extra effect and then gradually losing its force. The prepositional phrases in the first sentence would almost certainly have been expressed by a participle, a characteristic method helping to make up that richness of expression lost to the modern language. The auxiliary future and subjunctive for infinitive would be utterly strange to the classical language. The preposition *ἐν* with dative, distinctively expressing *rest*, has disappeared, *εἰς* (reduced in sound to a single sibilant) with the accusative having taken its place. The long sentence in the centre is characteristically modern in construction. It will translate easily into French or English without undue transposition or departure from the literal order and sense. It would have to be radically reconstructed in order to be intelligently rendered in classical Greek prose. And yet the compounds remain, with many forms familiar at least to the eye, to show us that this is the language that Thucydides and Plato spoke and wrote, if shorn of its glory and wearing a commonplace modern garb.

Nothing perhaps brings home the modernity of the Greek of to-day than the advertisements to be found in a Greek newspaper. To the devotee of the classical literature they perhaps partake of the profane; to the linguist they at least illustrate the adaptability of the language. The following selection will give an idea of Greek life and language to-day:

ΔΙΑ ΔΟΝΤΙΑ ΧΡΥΣΑ. Δόντια λευκά καὶ ὀδοντοστοιχίαι. Ἀπευθυνθῆτε μετ' ἐμπιστοσύνης εἰς τὸ Ὀδοντοϊατρεῖον κ. Δ. Θ. . . . ὁδὸς Π. . . . 19.

Or again:

ΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΣΥΡΘΗΤΕ. Ὅταν προσπαθοῦν νὰ σῶς δώσουν μιὰ ἄλλη Μαγνησία ἀντὶ τῆς γησιᾶς ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΣ Σ. ΠΕΛΛΕΓΡΙΝΟ πού ἐπιθυμεῖτε νὰ πάρετε. ΑΠΟΦΕΥΓΕΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΜΙΜΗΣΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΞΑΤΕ τὸ σῆμα γνησιότητος: Τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Προσκηυτοῦ με τὴν ὑπογραφήν 'Prodel'.

The above were taken from the 'Ελεύθερον Βήμα of 22 Jan. 1931. The following is from 'Η Πρωτα of the 13th of the same month:

ΘΕΡΜΑΣΤΡΑΙ τῆς παγκοσμίου μάρκας DEVILLE Συνεχοῦς καύσεως, μεγίστης οικονομίας. Μὲ 9 δκάδες ἀνθρακίτην τὸ εἰκοσιτετράωρον θερμαίνετε 5 δωμάτια καὶ χωλῶν. Δ. Γ. ΔΟΥΖΙΝΑΣ. Ὁδὸς Πεσμαζόγλου ἀρ. 9 (Ἐναντι Τραπεζῶν Λαϊκῆς καὶ Ἰονικῆς).

Is it a tragedy that the study of a language which began with Homer should end with an advertisement for anthracite stoves? Who would say that it was unrelievedly so? A language suited only to be the instrument of Homer or Aeschylus, Euripides or Plato, would not be a human language. It is to our loss that we have not the advertisements of fifth-century Athens. Even Odysseus' palace required warming. The homely background was of course all the time there. All but a few of the speakers of any language are homely people. The glory of a language is its power to adapt itself to everyday conversation about everyday needs on the one hand and on the other to the genius of the great poets of the world. The Greek language possesses this glory to a peculiar degree. What of its future? That is bound up with the future of the people who speak it. Mediaeval and modern poetry and other literature show that it is not decadent. It has not been aided in its adapting of itself to the requirements of the modern world by artificial attempts to keep it where it was two thousand years ago. The spoken language is still the source of life. Much of its greatness has disappeared. It was a language carved out to be the language of the great poets under conditions prevalent in the ancient world, and especially to be the language of the New Testament. Perhaps it is inevitable that it should seem out of place in a modern newspaper. It carries always an aroma of the past, not only of the glorious remote past, but also of the chilling domination of Turkey in Europe. And yet in the unchanging Greekness of the language beyond the stagnation, beyond the curious sense of unreality that the reading of a Greek newspaper gives, there is the promise of a possible resurrection, if not to the greatness of the past, yet to a place of practical value in a changed and changing world.

We should be very far wrong were we to regard the spoken language of modern Greece as exhausting the representation of the ancient language in the world to-day. The fall of Byzantium brought the language and literature of ancient Greece to western Europe where it became more familiar and was more appreciated than had been the case in any sense before. In our own land it became the instrument of a type of education which has contributed more than anything else to the position that the country has come to occupy in the world. In the study of the classics the Greek language lives. Scholars who imitate in composition the style of the great writers of the classical age do little more than the writers of the same literary language in the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire. The fourteenth century at latest saw those definite changes in the spoken language which brought it into line with its modern structure and constitution, while the literary language of the κοινή continued to be employed until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. It was employed as much for the amusement of the literary connoisseur or the scholar as with the intention of producing treatises to be read. When it was carried to western Europe there was no longer the necessity or desirability of employing it in literature of practical value, but it continued, and continues to this day, to be the delight of the scholar and the instrument of a valuable education. In the study of the classics the spirit of the ancient Greek language lives.

But it lives in a still more intimate sense. The modern languages of Europe owe to ancient Greek a large section of their vocabulary and in certain cases they base upon it the formation of their technical terms. These Greek words, for the most part learned, scientific or mechanical, pass through all the languages of Europe and to an extent smaller only than in the case of Latin provide a link of mutual intelligibility and of course a direct connection with the thought and terminology of the ancient Greek world. The Christian religion itself and the Bible have Greek names. Words of scholarship such as *theology*, *philosophy* and *philology* are of Greek origin, and spread in Europe as the result of the revival

of learning towards the close of the fifteenth century. If we speak of an *economic crisis* we use words for which we are indebted to the language of ancient Greece. Greek elements are drawn upon for innumerable technical terms, of which one of the earliest was *oxygen*, invented and applied towards the close of the eighteenth century. In this case and that of many others whose final element is *-gen*, the termination has been made to bear a meaning which did not belong to it in the living language. This however does not alter the fact that it is definitely Greek in origin and forms a vehicle for maintaining the spirit of the Greek language in western Europe to-day. The same is true of mechanical terms, combinations never in use in the actual language, such as *gramophone*, *telegram*, *telephone*. In a leading article in *The Times*¹ newspaper the following words of Greek origin occur: *political* (three times), *practical* (twice), *academic*, *topic*, *practically*, *criticisms*, *politics*, *system*, *economy* (four times), *methods*, *policy*, *problems*. Of these words the adjective *practical* and notably its adverb have sunk down nearly to the fundamental stratum of the language. The words *topic*, *criticism*, *system*, *method* and *problem* are in general use, while the remaining words have to do with government and education, both essentials in a civilised nation. In another article in the same issue, dealing with a topic of social rather than political interest, the following Greek words occur: *scheme*, *ideal*, *philanthropic*, *asphalt*.

The majority of Greek words in general use in our own and other modern languages have come by way of Latin. A cumbersome language such as Latin cannot adapt itself to the absorption and representation of new ideas. When the impact of Greek thought and literature brought a multitude of abstract or academic ideas into the Roman world, Latin borrowed the names with the ideas. Such was also the case with the western European languages, which borrowed Latin and Latinised Greek terms. But this fact at once brings into prominence the contrast of the ancient Greek language itself. It also was at first the language of northern barbarians, concerned with the simple things of life, family relationships,

¹ For 4 March 1931.

domestic animals, trees, food, a simple religion. It took root in a soil where great civilisations had held sway for hundreds of years, and from them its speakers borrowed the complicated and abstract ideas that result from the speculation of generations. Yet the language rarely if ever borrowed the terms with the ideas. It rose to the occasion, and proved itself capable of expressing the new terminology by inherent methods, notably its supple power of forming compounds. This method, partially inherited from a past stage of Indo-European, it greatly extended, possibly because it found it in use among the civilised languages around, although there is no evidence of this fact. But again, even if the formation of compounds were a feature of such languages, the genius of the Greek language made it a feature peculiarly its own. Ancient Greek proved itself the language of civilisation, a tongue in which poetry, thought and scholarship found an instinctive means of expression. The ruder tongues must borrow civilised terminology with civilisation itself. Greek had no need. And so it has maintained itself ever since as the language of civilisation. French may be the language of *politesse*, but Greek is the language of practical culture and scholarship. As such it has transmitted its terminology to the world to-day, and as such it lives upon the lips of all who care for such things, an undying monument of the greatness to which a human language can attain and of the power and achievements of those who spoke it.

Appendix

THE GREEK ALPHABET

The earliest examples of writing in the Greek alphabet that we possess consist of inscriptions found in the island of Thera in the Cyclades, which date from the eighth, or perhaps even from the ninth, century B.C. After these come the inscription cut by Greek mercenaries on the rock at Abu-Simbel in Egypt, Spartan inscriptions from the seventh century, and certain Corinthian and Athenian inscriptions, dating from the sixth.

Two main varieties of alphabet were in use in early times, the western or Chalcidic, and the eastern or Ionic. The Ionic gained ground over the Chalcidic, and by the fourth century B.C. had been adopted everywhere except in the extreme west of the Greek world. These two varieties represent two different borrowings of the alphabet, the Chalcidic being the earlier. We do not know from whom the Greeks immediately borrowed their alphabet, nor do we know the date more precisely than that it was before the eighth century B.C. We may suspect that it was considerably earlier. The Greeks were a power in the Aegean in the fourteenth century B.C., and might have borrowed the alphabet at any period between then and the date of the Thera inscriptions, as soon as neighbouring peoples had an alphabet to be borrowed.

The original people from whom the alphabet came were the Semites. This does not mean that the alphabet was invented by Semites, or that it had no previous history; but that the names of the letters of the alphabet were Semitic in origin. These names were handed on with the alphabet until they reached the Greeks. The Greek names *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, *delta*, etc., obviously correspond to the Hebrew names *aleph*, *beth*, *gimel*, *daleth*, etc. In the Semitic languages these names have a meaning, which refers probably to the object of which

the letter had once been a picture. Thus *aleph* means 'an ox' and *beth* 'a house'. The fact that the majority of the letter-names have a Semitic meaning shows that they were bestowed by Semites. In Greek they are meaningless.

Of the history of the alphabet before the Semites obtained it nothing certain is known. The names of the letters indicate that they developed from a hieroglyphic condition, and an earlier stage of their development may be illustrated by certain inscriptions discovered in the Sinai peninsula, which may possibly connect with Egyptian scripts. With this we are not at present concerned. Unfortunately the history of the alphabet during the time of its extension from Semitic peoples to the Greeks is also obscure. The forms of the Greek letter-names, which end with a vowel, suggest that they came from or through a people that spoke Aramaic. This is natural. The connecting link between Aramaic speakers and the Greeks was obviously Asia Minor. If we knew more of the history of Asia Minor, light would be thrown on the question of the alphabet, as on many other problems. Other peoples in Asia Minor used alphabets derived from the same source, such as the Lydians and Lycians. There may possibly have been an 'Asiatic' alphabet, derived directly from Semitic sources, from which the various peoples including the Greeks adapted their own. It is not now thought probable that the Greeks derived either variety of their alphabet directly from a Semitic people, although the forms of the letters in the early inscriptions from Thera bear a resemblance to those of the Moabite stone, an inscription of Mesha King of Moab, dating from the ninth century B.C.

In order to adapt the borrowed alphabet to the sounds of their language the Greeks had to make certain changes. The Semitic languages did not represent their vowels in writing. On the other hand they had letters representing breathings and gutturals which did not exist in Greek, and they had more sibilants than the Greeks. The Greeks accordingly utilised letters that in the Semite alphabet had expressed breathings and spirants to represent vowels. Thus *aleph* became *alpha*, the vowel α , *yod* became *iota*, the vowel *i*, and *vau*,

the position of which in the alphabet was changed so that it was placed at the end after *tau*, came to represent the vowel *υ*. Similarly *qyin* was used to represent the vowel *ο*. In the Chalcidic alphabet, or earlier variety, the letter that had been the Semitic *cheth* was not used as a vowel but represented the rough breathing (*h*); while *ε*, corresponding to Semitic *he*, did duty for both the long and short vowel *ε*. In the eastern or Ionic alphabet (which is the Greek alphabet as the student knows it) the letter corresponding to *cheth* was used, not as a breathing, but to represent the long open vowel *η*. In this case *ε* was used for the short *ε* only. Variations of this arrangement occurred rather later, and in certain dialects we find *η* representing the original long open *ē*, and *ε* both the short *ē* and the secondary long close *ē* derived from contraction or otherwise, represented in Attic by *αι*. In early Corinthian inscriptions a form **Β** occurs to represent close *ε*.

In the case of the sibilants *ζ* corresponds to Hebrew *zain*, and represented a voiced sibilant or spirant. The Greek letter *sigma*, which corresponds in name and form to the Hebrew *samech*, was transposed from the fifteenth place in the alphabet, which was that of *samech*, to the twenty-first, which was that of the Semitic sibilant *san*. In the Ionic alphabet, the letter *ξ* corresponded to *san*, having the value *ks*. In the early inscriptions from Thera *ks* is expressed by **KM** (the latter form being a sibilant corresponding to *san* and *ksi*). In the western or Chalcidic alphabet *ks* was represented by the form **X** or **+** which may have descended from *samech*. In the Ionic alphabet the same form **X** or **+** was used to represent the unvoiced velar aspirate (*ch*), and it is in this capacity that it is known under the name *chi* to the student of the language. In the west this sound was represented by the letter **Ψ** or *ψ*, which in the east had the value of *ps* (*psi*). In inscriptions from Thera and Melos the form **Ψ** occurs with the value *ks*. The origin of this form is unknown, as also is that of *φ* which in both alphabets had the value of *ph*. The origin of the digamma, brought in to represent the bilabial spirant when the letter corresponding to *vau* had been made into a vowel, is also unknown. The final letter **Ω** was probably differen-

tiated from O. The letter Ϙ (*koppa*) which was included in the Chalcidic alphabet disappeared in the Ionic, its place being taken by K (*kappa*).

As has been mentioned, the Ionic alphabet tended more and more to oust the Chalcidic as well as minor local variations, until in the fourth century it had become the standard alphabet of Greece. This it has remained till the present day. The Cyrillic alphabet used by the Russians and other Slavonic peoples is an offshoot from this Greek alphabet, being formed in the ninth century A.D. by Bishop Cyril, missionary to the Slavs, who based his alphabet upon the Greek and added forms necessary to represent additional Slavonic sounds.

The Chalcidic Greek alphabet was carried by the Greek colonists to Italy and Sicily, where it became the basis of the Latin alphabet and thus of our own. Certain modifications were made by the Romans. Owing probably to Etruscan influence the third letter *C*, corresponding to Γ, came to represent an unvoiced sound. Accordingly a form *G* was differentiated from *C* to express the voiced velar and set in the place of ζ which was not required in Latin, there being no native voiced sibilant (*z*). As a result of this shift of the representation of *C* the letter *K* was rendered unnecessary and almost fell out of use. The unvoiced labial spirant (*f*) was at first represented by the combination of digamma with *h* (*FH*, e.g. in the word *FHEFHAKED* in an early inscription), but the *H* was dropped and *F* came to represent the unvoiced spirant alone, *U* doing duty both for the vowel *u* and the bilabial spirant (English *w*). When the Romans began to borrow and employ Greek words they added to their alphabet the letter Υ (a Greek *upsilon*) to represent the sound of Greek υ, which was that of French *u* or German *ü*; and the letter Ζ, corresponding in form and sound to Greek ζ.

The alphabet remained with these twenty-three letters until mediæval and modern times. In the seventeenth century the two forms *i* and *j* came to be regarded as separate letters. In the tenth century and onwards we find a similar dis-

tion arising between the forms *u* and *v*, the former of which more often represented the vowel and the latter the consonant. The letter *w*, originally, as its name implies, simply *uu* or *vv*, was first employed by Norman scribes to represent the English bilabial spirant (*w* sound) which in early English had been represented by a letter derived from the Runic alphabet.

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INDEX

- Ablative, *see* Case
 Ablaut, *see* Vowel gradation
 Accent, 52-63, 93, 266
 pitch, 72
 place of, 54, 69, 80, 167, 314
 recessive, 167
 stress, 312, 314
 Accusative, *see* Case
 Achaeans, 12, 13
 Adjective, 67, 73, 75, 76, 78, 134,
 178, 317, 324
 comparative of, 76, 317
 denominative, 74
 superlative of, 77
 verbal, 73, 74, 77, 125
 Adverbs, 100-102, 106, 134, 157,
 158
 Aegaeon, 11, 12
 Aeolic, 14, 41, 166-72, 193, 194,
 195, 196, 199, 200, 204
 Aeschylus, 219, 224-30, 232, 233,
 234, 235, 240
 Aetolian League, 182
 Agatho, 240
 Agglutinative languages, 2
 Ahhiyava, 11
 Alaksandrus, 11
 Albanian, 1, 31, 37, 45
 Alcaeus, 211, 212
 Alcman, 210, 212
 Alexander the Great, 264
 Alphabet, 27, 335-9
 Anacreon of Teos, 217, 218
 Analogy, 81, 84, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94,
 95, 96, 97, 119, 143, 180,
 230, 316
 Anaxagoras, 253, 254
 Anaximander, 215, 216
 Anaximenes, 215
 Anna Comnena, 304
 Antaravas, 11
 Antipho, 258, 259, 260
 Aorist, *see* Tense
 Apocalypse, 293, 294, 296
 Apocope, 169, 170, 178
 Apollonius Rhodius, 207, 278
 Appian, 288
 Aramaic, 287, 336
 Arcadian, 173, 193, 194, 195, 196
 Arcado-Cyprian, 12, 13, 70, 95,
 176-82, 193, 194, 195
 Archilochus of Paros, 209
 Archimedes, 278
 Argolid, 188, 194, 195
 Aristophanes, 223, 241, 271
 Aristotle, 264, 265, 271-3, 279,
 300, 301, 306
 Armenian, 1, 31, 45, 89
 Article, 67, 105, 134, 155, 167
 Aryan, 1, 31, 37, 75, 89, 101
 Aryans, 10, 11
 Asia Minor, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 47
 Aspirate, 87, 92, 97, 309, 310,
 311
 Attarassiyas, 11
 Attic, 13, 65, 174, 177, 178, 201,
 209, 248
 Augment, 89, 90, 92, 146, 205

 Bacchylides, 217, 219, 220
 Baltic, 31
 Balto-Slavonic, 1, 101
 Bion, 277
 Boeotian, 166, 171, 172, 193, 194,
 195, 196
 Breathing, rough, 49
 Bucolic poetry, 277

 Case, 3, 104
 ablative, 70, 72, 101, 125
 plural, 119
 singular, 8

Case (*contd*)

- accusative, 101, 104, 105, 154, 155, 168, 322
 - dual, 72, 81
 - plural, 73, 81, 82, 167, 173
 - singular, 70, 72, 73, 80, 84
- absolute, 157
 - object of verb, 106
- of respect, 112, 113, 136
- with infinitive, 156
- with preposition, 106-12, 320
- dative, 70, 72, 95, 98, 101, 123, 127, 131, 132, 133, 140, 154, 155
 - dual, 71
 - plural, 71, 73, 81, 166, 169, 173
 - singular, 72, 81
- of advantage, 124, 125
- of the agent, 125
- indirect object, 123
- other uses, 126
- genitive, 72, 77, 101, 126, 127, 156, 322
 - dual, 71
 - plural, 73, 81, 173
 - singular, 70, 80, 169
- absolute, 156
 - objective, 114
- partitive, 114, 116, 117, 131
- subjective, 114
- after verbs of separation, 119
- comparison, 123
- expressing quality, 115
- expressing time, 115
- with prepositions, 116, 140
- instrumental, 70, 71, 72, 73, 101, 123
 - associative, 130
 - fusion with locative, 133
 - instrument, 131, 321
 - of attendant circumstances, 131
 - of cause, 132
 - of measure, 132
 - of time and place, 132
- locative, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 81, 94, 101, 123, 154

Case, locative (*contd*)

- fusion with instrumental, 132
- used in temporal sense, 129
- with preposition, 127, 129
- without preposition, 129
- nominative, 77, 79, 100, 101, 104, 105, 155, 322
 - dual, 71, 81
 - plural, 71, 73, 81, 82, 173
 - singular, 68, 69, 73, 80, 84
- vocative, 57, 70, 100, 105, 171
 - dual, 71, 81
 - plural, 71, 73, 81
 - singular, 69, 72, 80
- oblique, 77, 78, 79, 84, 133
- terminations, 69, 80
- Celtic, 1, 31, 81
- Centum languages, 42
- Chacremmon, 240
- Chalcidic alphabet, 335, 337, 338
- Charon, 246
- Chios, 200, 201
- Choerilus Atticus, 224
- Circumflex, 54
- Compounds, 56, 205, 228, 246, 255, 273, 280, 288, 320; *see also* Verb, compound
- Conjunctions, 153, 173, 176, 177, 180
- Consonants, 86, 87, 90, 95, 97, 309, 313
- Corinna, 217
- Cretan, 38, 168, 188, 191-3, 194, 195
- Cyprian, 35, 168
- Cyrillic alphabet, 311, 338
- Dative, *see* Case
- Declensions, 65, 68, 70, 84, 315, 317
 - first, 69-72, 80, 316
 - second, 72-3, 80
 - third, 77-82, 316
- article, 84
- pronominal, 73, 84
- relative, 84
- Delphi, 183
- Democritus, 254

- Demonstrative, 171
 Demosthenes, 261, 262, 271
 Dental, 77, 166
 Dialects, 12, 165-97, 314, 322-4
 Digamma, 34, 74, 87, 167, 170,
 178, 180, 186, 194, 199, 206,
 209, 212, 337
 Diodorus Siculus, 281, 288
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 61,
 281, 288, 304
 Diphthongs, 31-3, 51
 Dorian Invasion, 12, 13
 Dorians, 13
 Doric, 70, 71, 73, 89, 177, 188-93,
 194, 195, 196
 Dual number, 70, 72, 81, 84, 86,
 88, 89, 92, 96, 99, 104
 Elean, 168, 186, 193, 194, 195
 Elegiac, 209, 210, 214, 216
 Empedocles, 217, 221, 253
 Enclitics, 55-7, 162, 163
 English, 27
 Epic dialect, 199-205, 210
 Eretria, 174, 175
 Erinna, 210
 Euboea, 172, 174, 175, 193
 Euripides, 234-9, 240
 Future, *see* Tense
 Gender, 65-9, 72, 73
 Genitive, *see* Case
 Germanic, 1, 31, 72, 101
 Glycas, Michael, 327, 328
 Graeci, 14
 Grimm's Law, 40, 42
 Guttural, 91
 Hebrew, 274, 275, 286, 291, 293,
 335
 Hecataeus of Miletus, 217, 246, 252
 Hellanicus of Mitylene, 247, 252
 Heraclea, 188, 194
 Heraclitus, 216, 246, 289
 Herodotus, 13, 214, 247-50, 252,
 255, 256, 264, 283, 326
 Hesiod, 208, 214
 Theogony, 208
 Works and Days, 208
 Hexameter, 202, 205, 209, 214,
 216, 217, 220, 221, 253
 Hippocrates, 254, 255
 Hipponax, 214
 Hittite, 2
 Homer, 70, 71, 72, 93, 104, 198-
 208
 Iambic, 210, 213, 214, 225, 229
 Ibycus of Rhegium, 213
 Imperative, *see* Mood
 Imperfect, *see* Tense
 Indicative, *see* Mood
 Indo-European, 1, 3, 4
 home, 10
 separation of elements, 7, 8
 Infinitive, *see* Mood
 Inflexion, 2, 103, 105
 Injunctive, *see* Mood
 Inscriptions, 94, 335, 336, 337
 Instrumental, *see* Case
 Ion of Chios, 231
 Ionian Sea, 13
 Ionians, 13, 14
 Ionic, 14, 27, 30, 168, 173, 174,
 194, 199, 200, 202, 206, 207
 Ionic alphabet, 335, 337, 338
 Ionic-Attic, 12, 30, 35, 172-6, 193,
 195
 Javan, 14
 Justin Martyr, 298, 300
 κοινή, 165, 168, 179, 182, 184, 186,
 189, 191, 192, 197, 248, 263,
 264, 278, 279, 324, 332
 Labial, 166
 Labialisation, 170, 171
 Labio-velar stop, 166
 Laconian, 188, 194
 Language; a social factor, 6
 Latin alphabet, 338
 Leo VI, the Philosopher, 302

- Lesbian, 35, 41, 166-9, 170, 171,
 174, 194, 195, 196, 212
 Liquids, 38-9, 47-8, 75, 78, 80, 90,
 91, 309
 Lithuanian, 54
 Livy, 302
 Locative, *see* Case
 Locrian, 185, 186, 193
 Luke, 281, 286
 Lycians, 336
 Lydians, 336
 Lysias, 259, 260, 271

 Macedonia, 12, 17
 Manthos of Janina, 328
 Megara, 191, 193
 Menander, 275, 276, 288
 Messenia, 188
 Metathesis, 206
 Metre, 202-7, 210, 213, 228,
 230
 Middle comedy, 246
 Minoan civilisation, 12
 Modern languages, 3
 Mood, 4, 86
 imperative, 86, 89, 92, 93, 97,
 154, 318, 319
 indicative, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93,
 94, 95, 97, 99, 140-8
 infinitive, 86, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98,
 154-6, 167, 169, 320
 injunctive, 92, 97
 optative, 86, 89, 94, 96, 97, 99,
 100, 151-4
 subjunctive, 86, 89, 90, 93, 94,
 95, 96, 97, 149-51, 318, 319,
 320
 athematic, 195
 deliberative, 150
 of futurity, 150
 of intention, 149
 Moschus, 277
 Mycenae, 12

 Nasals, 37-8, 48
 New comedy, 275
 Nominative, *see* Case

 Northern Greek dialects, 312
 Noun, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 86, 99
 abstract, 74, 75, 78
 collectives, 73, 104
 gender, 65-9
 Number, 104
 Numerals:
 cardinal, 177
 ordinal, 74, 77

 Optative, *see* Mood
 Oratio obliqua, 152, 153
 Origen, 298, 299, 301, 303
 Oropus, 174

 Palatal, 77
 Pamphylian, 70, 177, 188
 Parmenides of Elea, 220
 Participle, 77, 95, 97, 134, 156-60,
 162, 320
 active, 79
 aorist, 95
 middle, 75, 98
 passive, 75, 98
 past, 77, 125, 126
 perfect, 95, 166
 present, 79, 89
 Particles, 102, 134, 145, 149, 150,
 151, 160-4, 169, 170, 173,
 177, 180, 248, 319
 affirmative, 162
 causal, 161
 conjunctive, 160
 demonstrative, 92
 Past tense, *see* Tense
 Patronymic, 77, 167, 193
 Paul, 292, 293
 Pausanias, 301
 Peloponnese, 12, 13, 176, 194
 Pentameter, 209
 Pentateuch, 14
 Perfect, *see* Tense
 Person:
 first, 88, 89
 second, 88, 89
 third, 88, 89
 Pherecydes of Leros, 247, 248

- Pherecydes of Syros, 248
 Philostorgius, 298
 Phocian, 183, 193, 195
 Phonetic change, 94, 98, 207, 310
 Phonetic decay, 3, 103
 Phonetic rule, 95, 97
 Phrynichus, 231
 Pindar, 217, 218, 219, 230
 Pitch, 52-4; *see also* Sentence pitch
 Place-names, 15
 Plato, 254, 263, 264, 265, 266-71, 280, 287, 289, 290, 291, 293, 306
 Plautus, 278
 Pluperfect, *see* Tense
 Polybius, 279-81, 287, 288
 Praxilla, 217
 Pre-Greek peoples, 15
 Preposition, 101, 103, 125, 133, 134, 157, 169, 171, 176, 178, 180, 320, 330
 with accusative, 106-12, 320
 with genitive, 116-23, 177
 with instrumental, 131
 with compound verbs, 157-9
 Present, *see* Tense
 Pronouns:
 demonstrative, 173, 176
 indefinite, 170
 personal, 84, 125, 173
 possessive, 85
 reflexive, 84
 relative, 84, 162, 170
 Prothetic vowel, 39
 Psilosis, 168, 173, 186, 194, 196

 Reduplication, 4, 86, 87, 91, 92, 99, 148
 Rhotacism, 175, 186, 187, 194
 Romance languages, 6
 Root, 2

 Sappho, 210, 212
 Satem languages, 42
 Schwa, 27, 52, 79
 Semites, 335, 336
 Semi-vowels, 34-6, 51, 87

 Sentence pitch, 52, 61
 Septuagint, 265, 273-5, 286, 287, 291, 293, 295
 Sibilant, 44-5, 95
 Sigma, 95, 96
 Simonides, 217, 218, 219
 Slavonic, 31, 37
 Solon, 213
 Sonants, 36-7, 51
 nasal, 80
 Sophocles, 231-4, 240
 Sounds, 27
 Sound-change, 27, 310
 Sozomenus, 298
 Speech tendencies, 16
 Spirant, 45, 310, 311, 312, 313
 Spondee, 214
 Stems, 86, 90, 93, 97, 148
 α-stems, 65, 67, 68, 69-72, 73, 79, 80, 82
 ο-stems, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 80, 81, 82, 316
 ι-stems, 77, 78, 81, 82
 υ-stems, 77, 81
 consonant stems, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82
 ς-stems, 79, 81
 vowel gradation in, 77
 Stephanus of Byzantium, 78
 Stesichorus, 210
 Stops, 39-44, 48-9, 309, 310, 311
 Strabo, 283, 301
 Stress, 52, 62-3
 Subjunctive, *see* Mood
 Suffix, 2
 Superlative, 74
 Susario, 224, 240
 Syllabary, 48, 179-82
 Synthesis, 72

 Tavagalavas, 11
 Telesilla, 217
 Tense, 86, 146-8
 aorist:
 imperative, 92, 93, 97, 149, 319
 indicative, 143, 145, 317, 319, 320

- Tense, aorist (*contd*)
 infinitive, 94, 95, 98
 optative, 94, 154
 subjunctive, 93, 149, 319
 sigmatic, 90, 93, 96, 97, 143, 318
 strong, 90, 91, 97, 143
 weak, *see* sigmatic
 future:
 aorist, 318
 indicative, 90, 96, 97, 98, 141, 142, 318, 319
 infinitive, 94
 future perfect, 92, 318, 319
 imperfect:
 indicative, 89, 91, 142, 143, 317, 319, 320
 past conditional, 320
 perfect:
 indicative, 90, 91, 92, 126, 145, 319
 infinitive, 95
 subjunctive, 93
 pluperfect indicative, 90, 92, 145, 319
 present:
 imperative, 92, 149, 319
 indicative, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 98, 140, 141, 317
 infinitive, 94, 95
 optative, 94
 subjunctive, 93, 149, 319
 Terence, 278
 Thales, 215
 Theocritus, 277, 278
 Theodorus Gaza, 304
 Theognis of Megara, 214
 Thessalian, 166, 169-71, 176, 193, 194, 195
 Thraco-Illyrian, 1 (note i)
 Thraco-Phrygian, 49
 Thucydides, 250-3, 255, 258, 262, 266, 270, 271, 280, 298, 306
 Timocreon, 217
 Timon of Phlius, 276
 Tocharish, 2
 Trochaic, 213
- Ulfilas, 44, 310
 Velar, 77, 79, 166
 voiced, 79
 unvoiced, 91
 Verb, 86-102
 auxiliary, 101, 318, 320
 causative, 88, 135
 compound, 106, 157-60, 320, 330
 contracted, 98, 167
 denominative, 87, 88
 deponent, 137, 317
 desiderative, 135
 inceptive, 87
 inchoative, 135
 intensive, 135, 148
 intransitive, 97, 140
 iterative, 88, 135, 148
 transitive, 105, 106
 of motion, 106
 in -ω, 86
 in -μν, 98
 Vocative, *see* Case
 Voice, 86
 active, 86, 88, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 139
 middle, 86, 95, 96, 97, 98, 136-9, 317
 passive, 86, 94, 95, 96, 97, 105, 125, 139, 140, 317, 318, 320
 Vowels, 27, 28-30, 46-7, 81, 87, 93, 95
 Vowel change, 171, 308, 309, 312
 Vowel crasis, 328, 329
 Vowel gradation, 4, 72, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 89, 90, 92, 96, 98, 189
 West Greek, 12, 14, 89, 182-93, 195
 Xenophanes, 216, 217, 220, 221
 Xenophon, 255-8, 262
 Zosimus, 302

PASSAGES

Acts xvii. 16-28	288	Empedocles	221
Aeschylus		Euripides	
<i>Agam.</i> 385-419	226	<i>Hecuba</i> , 629-57	234
887-913	228	<i>Iph. in Taur.</i> 803-21	236
1269-94	22	<i>Medea</i> , 1040-80	238
<i>Persae</i> , 159-75	225		
Alcacus, 161	211	Glycas, Michael, 1-15	327
Alcman, I. I, 50-63	211		
Anacreon, Frag. 2	217	Hermippus	
Anaxagoras	253	<i>Phormophori</i> , Frag. 432	241
Anna Comnena		Herodotus	
<i>Alexias</i> , v. 9	304	II. 22	175
Anon.		II. 68	247
<i>Chronicle of the Morea</i> ,		II. 111	21
2796-808	327	VIII. 70, 71	249
Antipho		Hesiod	
Περὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου Φόνου, 47,		<i>Works and Days</i> , 156-73	208
48	258	Hippocrates	
Archilochus of Paros		Περὶ Διαίτης, II. xlii	254
Frag. 3 and 29	210	Homer	
Archimedes		<i>Iliad</i> , XII. 277-89	201
<i>Arenarius</i> , 1-15	278	XVI. 20-45	203
Aristophanes		<i>Od.</i> IX. 152-76	18
<i>Clouds</i> , 275-90, 299-313	245	IX. 371-97	204
<i>Knights</i> , 335-66	242		
Aristotle		Justin Martyr	
<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> , III. x.		<i>Apology</i> , 216 A-B	298
13	271		
Bacchylides, Frag. 7	219, 220	Leo VI	
2 Cor. xi. 21-33	292	<i>Oratio X</i> (Migne, p. 101	
Crates (fl. 449)		B-D)	303
<i>Theria</i>	241	Luke i. 1-4	288
		i. 39 ff.	286
		Lysias	
		<i>Against Alcibiades</i> , I. 23-6	259
Demosthenes			
<i>De Corona</i> , 169-70	261	Manthos of Janina	
316-7	261	<i>Conquest of the Morea by</i>	
Diodorus Siculus		<i>the Turks</i> , 779-88	328
<i>History</i> , I. 1	282	Matthew xxii. 15-22	292
Dionysius of Halicarnassus		Menander	
<i>Roman History</i> , v. 56. 1, 2	281	<i>Hypobolimaes</i> (Kock,	
		482, 483)	275

Origen, v. 37	299	Sophocles	
Παλαμῶς, Ἡ φιλολογία μας	329	<i>Ajax</i> , 597-621	233
Parmenides of Elea	220	<i>Oed. Tyr.</i> 1017-46	231
Pausanias, ii. 7. 112-13	301	Strabo, xvii. 3	283
Pherecrates		Theocritus	
<i>Doulodidascalus</i>	241	<i>Id.</i> xv. 11-26	277
Pindar		Theodorus Gaza	
<i>Olympian Odes</i> , ii. 28-40	218	<i>Laudatio Canis</i> (Migne, p. 992 A, B)	305
Plato		Theognis of Megara, 237-54	215
<i>Phaedo</i> , 80, D, E	270	Thucydides, ii. 39	251
<i>Republic</i> , v. 452 E-453 C	268	iii. 86	250
v. 471	25	iii. 89	58
<i>Theaetetus</i> , 163 D	266	Timon of Phlius, Frag. 9	
<i>Timaeus</i> , 48 E	269	(Paul)	276
Polybius, ix. 22. 7-23. 2	280		
Sappho		Xenophanes	
Frag. 3	211	Frag. 7	217
Frag. 117	168	Frag. 11, 23-26	216
Septuagint		Xenophon	
Isaiah xl. 1-11	273	<i>Anabasis</i> , iii. iv. 1-5	255
Psalms xxiii.	273	<i>Memorabilia</i> , i. ii. 62-4	257
Simonides, Frag. 22	218		
Solon, Frag. 36	213	Zosimus, ii. 21	302